Vassar Supplement

The Intercollegiate Socialist

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The Intercollegiate Socialist

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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Socialist Source Book

The Society is happy to announce that a source book on the international Socialist movement, edited by Wm. English Walling, Jessie W. Hughan, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Harry W. Laidler and other members of a committee of the I. S. S., has been accepted by Henry Holt & Co. and will issue from the press in March.

The book, which will appear under the title, "The Socialism of To-day," is a distinct departure in Socialist writings. It consists chiefly of documents gathered from the literature of the movement all over the world, describing the growth, achievements, programs, resolutions, discussions of the Socialist parties in all of the important countries. Part I deals with the general features of this movement in Europe, America, Asia and Africa. Part II calls special attention to the position of the various parties on the following questions: labor unionism, the general strike, labor legislation, the high cost of living, unemployment, the tariff, immigration, the land question, taxation, government ownership, militarism, preparedness, municipal Socialism, public schools, woman suffrage, the liquor problem, etc.

An effort has been made throughout to present impartially the positions of the various wings of the movement on all controverted questions.

The book is replete not only with exceedingly useful information, but with intensely interesting and dramatic discussions, such, for example, as the debate between Jaurès and Bebel regarding legitimate Parliamentary Tactics and that between Rosa Luxemburg and Dr. Karl Liebknecht on the one hand and Scheidemann and the Party Executive on the other, regarding the advisability of the General Strike. The volume, in fact, will prove indispensable and irresistible to every student of the movement. All interested are urged to order the book from the Society at once. The price is $1.50.

Our Supplement

In connection with the December-January issue of **The Intercollegiate Socialist**, the Society published its first research pamphlet—"Who Gets America's Wealth," by William English Walling. This pamphlet sought to make available in popular form the most recent reliable statistics on the distribution of incomes in the United States. The pamphlet is exceedingly valuable to all students of present-day society. Members and friends of the Society are urged to purchase a supply of these Supplements at rates indicated in the back of the magazine, for distribution and sale at public meetings. Readers of the pamphlet will be especially interested in N. I. Stone's review of Nearing's "Income," contained in this issue. The supplementary statistics of Dr. Stone, the former secretary of the U. S. Tariff Commission, are a distinct contribution to this subject. The next supplement to be issued will deal with "Voluntary Co-operation in the U. S." It will probably be published with the April-May edition. Volunteers to help in the preparation of these pamphlets are always in demand.

I. S. S. Summer Conference

Plans for the 1916 I. S. S. Summer Conference are well under way and will be reported in detail in the April-May issue of the magazine. The plans already matured promise an unusually fine gathering.

"Preparedness"

A Reply to BERNARD SHAW

By Jessie W. Hughan

We are unaffectedly "set up" over the fact that Mr. G. Bernard Shaw's advice to the United States should come as a personal word to the I. S. S. The great Fabian will pardon us, however, if some of us dare to disagree. We cannot consistently believe all that he says and we prefer to take our choice. It is true that, after the magnificent victory of non-resistance in "Androcles," Mr. Shaw, through sheer "cussedness" apparently, surrenders Ferrovious to the Roman eagles; it is true that, after the biting indictment of war in "Major Barbara," he hauls down the flag in the last act, enabling the matinee worshippers to make once more their sage comment that one must never take Shaw too seriously. This time, however, after he has so recently laid down for us, in his Common-Sense about the War, the blundering futility of the whole present tragedy, we must decline to accompany him as he again turns his back on his arguments and leaps gaily into the midsummer madness of his countrymen. Therefore, while Mr. Shaw doubtless indulges in his quiet laugh at our expense, we venture to suggest that he has not entirely fooled us.

Let us turn our pedestrian reasoning to his letter of advice. Here, as is his wont, he tells us things pleasant and unpleasant. First, "the Pacifism of America is the hope of the world," and second, America will be listened to because, notwithstanding her chronic and well-known state of unpreparedness, she "is powerful as well as pacific." On the other hand, the belligerents, namely the splendidly prepared German and British Empires and their allies, "are bleeding to death so rapidly that the question to be decided is which side will be first exhausted." Finally he proclaims "the suicidal folly of staking everything in the last instance on the ordeal of battle."

By one of his pleasant paradoxes, however, Mr. Shaw next proceeds to offer the following advice. First, let the United States cut off its demoralizing luxuries and emulate "the continental countries which are now using what they saved out of it to slaughter one another." The advantages of this change of luxuries he neglects to state. Next he advises us "to enter the race for the biggest armament" in order that we may not find ourselves "where Britain would have been to-day if it had refused to keep ahead of the German fleet." Well, where would Britain have been to-day, Mr. Shaw? You yourself have demonstrated that this war could have been avoided by democracy and common-sense on the part of the British government. Suppose that England had some time ago learned to substitute for the race in armament a race in sane foreign relations, where would she be now?

The climax comes in some specific recommendations. "I should strenuously recommend the United States," says Mr. Shaw, "to build thirty-two dreadnoughts instead of sixteen, and to spend two billion dollars on its armament program instead of one." That

* In the December-January issue of **The Intercollegiate Socialist** appeared a letter written by Bernard Shaw to the editor of the magazine, urging a large increase in the army and navy forces of the United States. This article was given wide publicity in the press of the country. We print the accompanying reply by Miss Hughan as representative of a considerable body of opinion in this country relative to Mr. Shaw's proposal. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the Society neither endorses nor opposes the positions of Mr. Shaw and Miss Hughan.

is, in order to preserve the peace of the world, you advise the setting up of a preponderant military power on this side of the Atlantic. A brilliant paradox, Mr. Shaw, and worthy the ringing down of the curtain, but for common-sense permit us to prefer the third act.

Let us take the proposition seriously. Our illogicalness cannot attain the picturesque, so we will be as sane as we can. In plain truth, what does Mr. Shaw mean? What is behind his wild words?

In the first place, he is not attacking pacificism at all—the non-resistance of Androcles or of Major Barbara at her best. He is merely telling us that if we go in for war and preparedness at all we must have adequate preparedness. It is absurd to stop half way. He reminds us that if we wish "to undertake the policing of the world, it will need a very big club for the purpose." Granted, but do we want to wave the big stick over the world? Even the Monroe doctrine has lost its charm for some of us.

It is true, on the other hand, that, granting the present war, Britain would have suffered from the lack of a preponderant navy, as she now suffers from the lack of a preponderant army. Shaw rightly scoffs at the inadequacy of the preparedness contemplated by our defense advocates. "Adequacy is not reached," says Admiral Dewey, "until the navy is strong enough to meet on equal terms the navy of the strongest possible adversary"—that is, of course, Great Britain. Mr. Henry Wise Wood goes still further and asks for a navy twice as strong as any other power—in the words of Mr. Shaw, "a Pacific navy capable of resisting an attack from Japan and an Atlantic navy capable of resisting an attack from England, with Zeppelins on the same scale, a proportionate land equipment of siege guns and so forth."

As far as armies are concerned, military experts proclaim the insufficiency of the increase demanded by Secretary Garrison. The standing army is to be increased from 108,000 to 141,843 all told, a force less by over one hundred thousand than the manifestly inadequate British army of 1912 (the peace establishment, excluding territorials and forces stationed abroad). Mr. Garrison's additional Continental army of 400,000, considered hopeless of fulfillment by our army experts, would bring the grand total up to 541,000, still 250,000 less than the corresponding British total. Finally, when we compare these figures with those of the really efficient German army, a peace establishment in 1912 of over one million men, we begin to have an idea as to what our inadequacy may mean. Yet the fate of preparedness, but inadequate preparedness, is the fate of Belgium! Do we desire it?

Preparedness must be adequate or it is impotent, says Mr. Shaw, and Admiral Dewey, as well. That is, we must build thirty-two dreadnoughts instead of sixteen, and so on. Again, do we want it? There is a price to be paid. First there is the cold cash. Already there is a deadlock in Congress over this little matter of paying the bills. The American workingman has endured with surprising meekness his own national brand of oppression, but when the European variety is superadded he is likely to draw the line.

Yet we all know that money is the least cost of an adequate military system. This war is teaching us that democracy and military efficiency cannot go hand in hand. The German army has astonished the world, because Germany has sacrificed her democracy to militarism. England has wakened up, has seen the alternatives, and has proceeded to do away with a measure of British liberty by means of the Munitions Act and the Modified Conscription Bill. Even our own war department hints at compulsory military

training. Germany has paid the price; are we willing to do the same?

If militarism will assure peace, they tell us, let us have even militarism — but does adequate defense assure peace? Victory in war pertains to the military expert, but the declaration of war is a matter of psychology. Adequate preparedness would make other nations fear us — granted — but does fear tend to secure peace? Preparedness advocates, whether British, German, or American, seem to agree in two pleasing bits of self-deception. Each believes, first, that his own nation is the only one whose armament will never be used for aggression, and, second, that every other nation is a coward, daring to fight only with an inferior antagonist. The present war has exploded pretty effectually, however, the "peace and preparedness" contention. Preparedness that is approximately equal has failed to secure peace, for the powers of Britain and Germany, or of the two opposing alliances, have proved so nicely balanced that Mr. Shaw tells us that the question is now simply as to which side will be first exhausted. Preponderant preparedness—in fact, the mere ambition for it — is still more prohibitive of peace; for we know that the present desire to fight Germany, on the part of an immense portion of the civilized world, is due to one circumstance, that Germany has demonstrated her ability and desire to become a preponderant military power. It is because they believe this that millions of men have vowed that Germany is never to have peace until this power has been crushed.

It is the preponderant militarism of Germany that Mr. Shaw is offering to our ambition—the position of Prussia of the Western world. They say that a nation has sold its soul for this. Do we desire it?

Adequate preparedness or inadequate preparedness? There is one other alternative — no preparedness. No preparedness, that is, in a military or naval sense—for there is a growing minority of us who believe that there is but one form of preparedness that can assure national security — the guarding against war by means of frank and friendly international relations. When popular education becomes broadly patriotic rather than selfishly national, when sacrifices for peace are regarded as equally honorable with sacrifices for war, when the money and energy that it is prepared to devote to the arousing of fear are appropriated to the disarming of suspicion, when our archaic system of secret and irresponsible diplomacy is replaced by the open and deliberate communications of a responsible government — not until such untried forms of preparedness as these are inaugurated can any nation call itself secure.

Yes, we are willing to let Mr. Shaw have his laugh at our picayune preparedness. Yet we refuse to be piped by him into the nations' Dance of Death. Our sense of the picturesque is not yet, we trust, stronger than our common-sense; and until it is we hope still to deprive the grim humor of Mr. Shaw of at least one spicy satisfaction.

Socialists Should Have Prevented the War

By W. J. Ghent

Everybody knows that the Socialists could have prevented the war. Everybody says so, and everybody is more or less angry at their remissness. Loud and resonant and expansive is the chorus of reproach. It begins in the early

morning in the region of Penobscot, and late in the evening its echoes die away at Naco and Tia Juana. Of course, in past times, there was some scornful persiflage over the impotence of these same Socialists; but that was all a mistake, for which the Socialists were themselves to blame in not having made clear to the world their latent powers. No healthy-minded person now doubts that at least from July 24th to August 1st—in England to August 4th—the Socialists of Europe were omnipotent. They held the fate of the world in their nerveless hands, and they proved recreant to their trust.

And by Socialists is of course meant party Socialists. Like the Greeks of Athens, the Jews of Salonika and the Turks of the Negropont (according to the medieval saying) it is the Socialists of the red card who are the worst of their tribe. Other Socialists may have broad vision, sound knowledge, a sense of responsibilities, an alertness for opportunities and the courage to dare and do. It is the Socialists of the Socialist party who monopolize the defects and the vices.

There are other international bodies, with supposedly or professedly pacific purposes, that are sometimes brought to mind. There is, for instance, an organization somewhat older and somewhat greater in numbers than the Socialist party, which asserts for itself a special authorization from on high. Lest we forget, its name may me given—the Christian Church. There are also international fraternal societies, international peace societies and that one-time conspicuous body known as the Hague Tribunal. By general consent, however, they are excused from blame. No one calls them into court to answer a charge of criminal neglect. They were powerless. But as for the Socialists, the case is different. They could — and they wouldn't.

True, the Socialists were not in a majority in any national representative body in Europe—or anywhere else, for that matter. And true, also, they had considerably less than one-third of the membership of the Reichstag. But what of it? God and one make a majority, even in Kaiserland; and though the Kaiser may think himself that one, so also may any other man.

True, too, that in past times many cogent reasoners, not especially predisposed toward these Socialists, have argued that the Reichstag has no power whatever and that even if the Socialists controlled it they would be as helpless as before. But this argument, too, now turns out to have been a mistake—a blunder for which the Socialists themselves were responsible—and anyhow the matter has nothing to do with the indictment.

Of course the Socialists held some conferences and a number of public meetings, and they agitated and talked rather violently against war, and they arranged for a general congress to consider plans for furthering peace. But any sort of persons can do such things (even though nobody else *did*); and in spite of their talk and their agitation and their plans, they let the war come.

There are so many, many ways by which they could have frustrated the will of the rulers. Anybody can tell you how. The thing is as clear as Arizona daylight. They could, for instance, have called a general strike. Our general strikes in America have been so fruitful of revolutionary changes that we rightly wonder that the workers of Europe did not have recourse to this simple device. There is nothing that stirs the imagination in this picture of a strike of unarmed men in the face of a mobilized army of millions, ornamented with bayonets, rapid firers and 42-centimeter guns, and of the triumph of peace that would inevitably follow.

Their representatives could have refused to vote the war credits. This of itself would have prevented conflict. Nicholas and Franz Josef would have

gracefully yielded, and Wilhelm would have proclaimed his humble submission, as he has so often done, to the will of his beloved Socialists and divested himself of his "shining armor." There would have been no war.

Or, after peace had been actually broken, the Socialists might still have stopped the war had they been brave enough to stand up and be shot for their refusal to bear arms. It seems singular to most of us, with that clear perspective given by distance and detachment, that this most obvious expedient was not practiced—perhaps not even seriously considered. There are, of course, ribald fellows about the fringes of the crowd who jeer at this counsel and say that it comes only from persons careful to keep out of harm's way, persons who would not even court the crack of a policeman's club. But we can afford to ignore this ribaldry, so long as we hold fast to our ideals of conduct—for other people.

Yes, the Socialists could have prevented or stopped the war. They didn't, and so they deserve all the maledictions that are showered upon them. Especially do they merit the reproaches of the Christians, who form the bulk of all the armies and the whole of the ruling powers. Of pastors and priests, too, since every regiment has its chaplain praying that his own side may kill or wound the greater number of the other side. Of Syndicalists, since every Syndicalist in France, as well as elsewhere in the warring nations, is on the firing line. Of anti-militarists, anti-nationalists, anti-governmentalists and anti-parliamentarists, also, since all of them over there are at the front, shouting and shooting and bayonetting for *la patrie* or *vaterland* or the United Empire.

Nor are these all who have demonstrable right and title to join in the chorus. Those simpering peace advocates who have always ignored or minimized the work of the Socialist party for peace and who now find that that party could, with a word, have dictated its terms; those crusading anti-Socialists who have always fought to keep the party small in numbers and weak in the possibility of achievement; those native jingoes who shout for Old Glory but censure the nationalism of other men; those racial Brahmins who are proudly conscious of their own blood, whatever it may be, but who denounce the like feeling of men of other races; and lastly, those super-Socialists who have always antagonized the organization and whose verdict upon any mass action of Socialists, no matter what the circumstances, would be sure to be adverse—all lift up their voices in the concert, for all have the right; and who shall say them nay?

No doubt the Socialists now wish with all their hearts that they *had* prevented the war. They are unused to this stern censure from every side, and though conscious of their culpable neglect, they are pained in their realization of the world's disfavor. They will know better another time.

Nationalism and Socialism—A Reply

By William English Walling

In the October-November number of The Intercollegiate Socialist, Prof. Herbert Adolphus Miller performs a service which must be deeply appreciated by every internationalist. In his article entitled "Nationalism and Socialism" he has in the briefest and clearest manner stated the position of the so-called Nationalist-Socialists.

What is our real attitude towards nationalism? All Socialists certainly oppose social and religious oppression and believe in national autonomy. Even the most ardent internationalist is agreed that Ireland and Poland, for example, must be free. But Prof. Mil-

ler goes on to say that this group-consciousness is more in harmony with tradition than with economic advantage. The internationalists believe, on the contrary, that the cultural oppression of Ireland and Poland, etc., is simply a pretext to facilitate their economic oppression.

These two views of nationalism, while starting with the same premise —that Socialists must support movements for national autonomy—lead to the very opposite conclusions. Prof. Miller says that in view of nationalism the Socialists' problems are not only economic, but quite as much psychological. The internationalist-Socialist, on the contrary, is tolerant towards the nationalistic movement only because he feels certain that the same economic motive which leads to the demand for autonomy will lead all the nations later to a demand for federation. We already see this demand for federation among the Socialists of the Balkan States, where nationalism is most aggressive. Similarly all the smaller nations, if they are not to be economically crushed, will be obliged to enter into closer and closer union with one another and with the larger nations. Even the most powerful governments like Austria and Germany are about to suppress their nationalism in order to enter into an economic union (by the repeal of protective tariffs). It is essentially an economic problem that lies before every nation.

Socialists favor the *defensive* nationalism of the smaller nations; they are opposed to the *aggressive* nationalism of the larger nations. While many of the small nations are just arriving at that stage of economic evolution where they require more economic independence, the larger countries have arrived at that more advanced stage of economic development where the need of the hour is for increasing economic interdependence—and it can only be a few years before the smaller nations, or at least the common people of the smaller nations, will be finding themselves in the same situation.

In Time of Confusion, Lest We Forget the Greater Foe

By Fred. F. Rockwell

Unsheath the sword for liberty!
Take up the smouldering torch!
Press on in freedom's name again
Until it bursts to flame again,
And flares along the starry sky
And floods with light the plain!
The old, old fight is yet to win;
The newer battles but begin:
Then who will rise to strike amain,
Or hold the cresset high?
Unsheath the sword for liberty!—
But where does freedom lie?

Unsheath the sword for liberty!
Take up the smouldering torch!
Press on in freedom's name again,
Until its unquenched flame again
Lights up the red flag, flying high,
Though comrades have been slain.
Oh, soldiers of the Greater Trust,
Still keep the ranks, through sweat and dust,
And strife—*we have a world to gain!*
Or liberty shall die.
UNITED, 'gainst the common foe—
That way does freedom lie!

Take down the sword for liberty;
Snatch up the faltering torch!
But where's the foeman hidden now?
And who's the comrade, bidden now
To storm with us the bastioned walls,
Or gain the hill-top's brow?
Let murk of war, and rumored wars,
Not make obscure our common cause,
Nor dim nor rend our older vow
By which it wins or falls.
World-freedom still cries loud to us—
Heed not the lesser calls!

The College and Society

By T. D. A. Cockerell,
University of Colorado

Nearly thirty years ago, when the writer was a member of the Socialist League, and used to go on Sunday evenings to the meetings at William Morris's house at Hammersmith, questions of policy were as hotly debated as they are to-day. The English Socialists had, in fact, divided on matters of this sort; the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League and the Fabian Society each had its own particular method of attacking the great problems of the regeneration of Society. Morris and his followers believed that only educational methods were of value, in the then state of affairs. The Social Revolution was to come when all, or at least a large majority, had become convinced of the reasonableness of the Socialist demands. Political action, in the meanwhile, was futile, since even if a Socialist did get elected to Parliament, he would either be helpless, or would have to work with anti-Socialists. Palliative measures were useless, tending merely to prolong the agony.

Yet Morris himself recognized that after all, society had gone far already toward the Socialist goal. I remember being with him one day, on the bank of the Thames, when we noticed a large building in course of erection on the other side, surrounded by scaffolding. That, said Morris, is like society; it is for us to remove the scaffolding.

The Social Revolution has not come, at least in the manner we then expected. It is, nevertheless, going on, and it is not difficult to discern the signs of its progress. The educational work of the Socialist League and many other agencies has been so successful that the doctrines of Socialism have lost their novelty, and consequently some of their attraction. Not only this, but there is, among serious-minded reformers, a growing distaste for the merely academic discussion of anything; they want to be out and doing things, or at least getting acquainted with facts. Thus it comes about that we have a curious paradox: the tendency toward Socialism is stronger than ever, while the support of Socialist societies grows languid. The case is parallel to that of the churches, which lose some of the most genuinely religious elements of their following.

On the other hand, while the intellectual and ethically-minded groups are daily growing more radical, and the strongholds of conservatism are giving way, there ever rises the greater menace of the vast multitudes who "pass by on the other side," indifferent to the problems which democracy cannot safely forget. We have pictured humanity as a caged lion, but possibly the image of a placid cow upon the railroad track would better represent the facts. What to do, becomes a question of psychology. The Billy Sunday method, not altogether unheard of even in Socialist circles, creates a diversion, and produces some superficial evidences of activity. Its results, however, are inimical to progress, because they are attained through a kind of paralysis of the intellectual faculties. It is absolutely certain that the development of Society demands the most careful thought and well-considered action, supported indeed by the strongest emotions of which we are capable, *but based upon the mental growth of years.* This is so true that one cannot adequately give to another the reasons for the faith that is in him; it is necessary to have lived the life, to have had the experiences.

Applying these conclusions to the problems of the colleges, it appears tremendously important to get hold of the young people while it is still possible to alter the whole trend of their lives. Superficially, this appears rather easy.

They are friendly, well-disposed toward their teachers, ready to accept sense or nonsense with charming impartiality. If there is a little undercurrent of cynicism concerning the instruction, that merely represents a proper residue of personal independence. It is a matter of astonishment to us to find that after all the seed has apparently fallen on stony ground, and having perhaps germinated, has nevertheless withered, having no moisture. In other words, academic teaching, so far as it concerns the matters we are now discussing, is singularly inefficient as judged by the total result. It may be that we are altogether too impatient for progress, that we expect too much from the "higher education," that in the nature of things advancement must be slow. Yet we have the right to ask ourselves whether the system is adapted to the means desired to be attained. Is it not true that the isolation of academic life and thought from the main currents of life is a fundamental error? When we review the work of universities, we find that the fields in which they occupy the foremost place are precisely those in which they appeal most to experience, to contact with realities. Morgan and Wilson of Columbia University are making over a considerable part of the science of biology, not because they believe this or that, but because they seek incessantly for the evidence afforded by the phenomena of life. Their imaginations are richly furnished with the fruits of experience, and what they know they know, so far as human faculties are capable of informing them.

It must be so also with our young people, who are to help in the days to come, to bring heaven to earth. Mere knowledge will not suffice, either in science or morals; but knowledge based on experience is essential.

The collegiate Socialists, with or without the co-operation of the powers that be, might fittingly initiate a campaign for the enlightenment of students, not so much in the doctrines of Marx or Morris, as concerning the actual phenomena of society. With this end measurably attained, theoretical considerations and plans for the future will have some soil in which to take root. The Survey Idea, though comparatively new, has become widely popular, and appears to indicate a line of attack. Every town, every neighborhood, every college is a sociological laboratory. It is not possible, or even desirable, to do everything at once; but it is easy to begin somewhere. Whence came our last meal and why did it cost what it did? What are the ideals of students, and why? What are the chief causes of economic waste in our town? Why is there so much ugliness? How do the houses built in the last five years compare with those built before? What does it cost us to be in fashion? Who pays the taxes? What are the causes of illness? What is the basis of public opinion? When some information has been gathered, comparisons may be made with other localities, and efforts made to determine the reasons for differences found. In all this, the alumni, who have scattered far and wide, may be of service, thus keeping in contact with the sociological work of the college group. The primary purpose should be to study the structure of society in all its aspects, and not to look especially for faults. If the work is done in this spirit, the many just criticisms arising from it will have their setting as part of the whole, and will be so far more convincing and satisfactory. Without "looking for trouble," the group will undoubtedly find as much as they are able to take care of. Along with all this may suitably go a study of the theoretical and especially historical sides of the subject; and this, finding abundant illustrations in actual experience, will possess a reality and interest it never could have alone. As the years passed, data would accumulate, so that each generation of workers could build on the labors of those before. The more

interesting results could be published, or presented in a continually changing exhibit in the form of charts, diagrams and pictures. Groups in different institutions could exchange opinions and records, or occasionally send delegates to discuss the results attained.

All this may be difficult to accomplish, yet not impossible. At any rate, the object of this article is to indicate the lines along which progress seems to be desirable, without expressing an opinion (since none can be farmed) as to its ultimate limits.

In my own State of Colorado, the coal mining situation has afforded and still affords an immense problem. It has never been minutely and scientifically studied, although many reports on its more superficial and dramatic aspects have appeared. The Industrial Commission, from the limitations of their opportunity, were only able to make a beginning, and were obliged to leave many matters uncertain. At the present time, controversy is extremely difficult because whatever statement one makes, it is likely to be denied by the opposing sides and there is often no available mass of proof. Had the whole problem been continuously and scientifically studied for ten years it would be nearer solution, because it would have been possible to convince a larger section of the public as to the actual facts. More particularly, it would have been possible to emphasize the broader aspects of the whole matter; to present the question as one concerning human welfare and happiness, rather than legal "right" and commercial "necessity." Those who had once come to regard the problem in this way could never return to the narrow and stupid outlook of the past.

Leaders in the controversy may be impatient with these suggestions, stating that all the important and essential facts are well known to those immediately concerned, or at any rate to those on the ground. This may or may not be true, but it certainly is true that the plan suggested, if it could be carried out, would inform and interest a large number of additional individuals, even if it revealed no important new facts. These individuals, not being personally involved or committed to either side, would influence others who are not at present reached, and the result could not be otherwise than favorable. In the field of science, such results are continually attained by such methods.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society Convention

By Harry W. Laidler

The new spirit of social idealism which is, to an ever greater extent, permeating our American colleges, seemed all pervasive at the Seventh Annual Convention of the I. S. S., held in New York City, December 28th to 30th, 1915.

It was that spirit which animated the report of Ray Claflin Bridgman, president of the Yale Chapter, at the first session of the Convention:

"The challenge to the university men of this country," declared Mr. Bridgman, "is written in letters of blood and fire across the skies, and unless we are cowards, we must gladly give every ounce of our strength for service to the world in its utter agony and need.

"The ideal of a university which a Yale graduate has expressed is not alone for Yale, but for all the universities of America. 'I dream of a great institution, not of boys, clean, lovable and honest, but of men of brains, of courage, of leadership. A great center of thought to stir the country and bring it back to the understanding of what man creates with his imagination, and dares with his will. It's visionary—it will come.'

"May the Intercollegiate and every man who believes in humanity and a world destiny, struggle to attain that vision and struggle unconquerably to make our universities true to such an ideal."

It was this spirit which was present in Albert Williams' eloquent appeal to collegians, in the address of William B.

Spofford of Berkeley Divinity School and in the talks of the fifty odd delegates who faithfully attended the various sessions—a spirit which gives promise of great social achievements on the part of the youth of our land.

PREPAREDNESS AND INTERNATIONALISM

While it was this phase of the convention which was most stimulating to those closely identified with the college work, undoubtedly the most distinctive feature in the eyes of the general public was the discussions on "Preparedness" and on "Internationalism" at the Convention Dinner Wednesday evening at the Palm Garden, before an audience of 400 collegians and others.

John Haynes Holmes, the first speaker, speaker, declared that the internationalism of the future would depend upon two things: first, an organization which would include all the nations of the earth; second, an inner religious spirit which would bind together the inter-nation.

"When the war broke out," Dr. Holmes asserted, "we discovered that the greatest thing in the souls and minds of men was the religion of patriotism. Before this religion international movements melted like snow on the crest of volcanoes. The war has demonstrated that all thought about international organizations would lead to nothing until we got men and women to worship on the altar of humanity."

Dr. Holmes said that in America the federation of states came first and then after the Civil War came the interstate feeling which will henceforth make separation impossible.

"What has taken place here must take place in the world at large. Some time and somehow the various countries must surrender their national ideas and ideals, recognize that they are all children of a common father, and form themselves into a genuine brotherhood, held together by the spirit of good will.

"What is there in the world which gives reason for believing in the coming of this spirit? There are, it seems to me, three main hopes. The first movement that may be relied upon to consummate this ideal is the international labor movement. We looked with alarm on the failure of this movement to meet the present crisis. I realize that there are explanations for this failure but no excuses. There were days when men dared to die for what they believed. There were days of martyrdom. I do not conceive that the age of martyrdom has passed. And just because the laboring men failed once, and now, with blood and tears are paying the price of their failure, I believe that they will never fail the world again. And when, in the next crisis, kings and czars and kaisers and presidents call upon the workers to go forth to battle, I believe that they will give the reply they wanted to give at the beginning of the present conflict.

"The second hope is the international organization of women. I know that there are now thousands of women sending their sons and daughters to the battlefield. But we also see the women as prophets of the coming day going to The Hague and elsewhere and showing to the women of the world what the spirit of women should be. There are thousands of women, mothers of the race, who are in agony at this moment as their sons and husbands are dying on the battlefield. Some day they will be heard from, and when they are heard the family of men will be established.

"The third movement toward brotherhood is the church. I know that the church has failed—with explanation, but without excuse. But after this war is over, a nobler spirit will be born in the church as in the hearts of women and in the souls of men."

Charles Edward Russell entered immediately into a discussion of preparedness, and contended that the United States should increase its armaments.

Mr. Russell asserted that he hated war as much as did anyone in the Socialist movement; that the cause of war was the present competitive system and that so long as the present competitive system existed, so long would there be war.

"If we are going to have war," he said, "we are going to have the tools of war. If we don't remove the cause, we must stand the consequences."

Mr. Russell contended that if Germany should win she would endeavor to extend her empire to the Persian Gulf; that she would have under her sovereignty from 175,000,000 to 200,000,000 people, all trained in the arts of war and possessing a tremendous collection of tools of war. Nor could we, he affirmed, in view of Germany's disregard of Belgian neutrality, depend upon her observing treaty agreements.

"If we wish to be logical," he continued, "we must do one of two things—either disband our army, tear down our forts and melt our guns or secure armaments better than those of any other nation. There is no place for moderate preparedness. We can preach non-resistance until we are black in the face, but we can never get the American people to accept it. I am an American. I am not ashamed of the gospel of democracy. I believe that America ought to be prepared to defend itself as the last bulwark of democracy."

John Spargo maintained that at the present time there was less need for preparedness than for many years past and that there was never greater need than at present for the American Socialist movement to combat, by every possible means, the spirit of militarism.

"Even if we assume that the war ends as Mr. Russell predicts and fears—which I do not for one moment believe—is it not quite evident to every thoughtful mind that to hold and weld into a cohesive and coherent imperial whole its violently different parts, all the genius of the conquerors must be taxed for at least a generation? There will be neither time nor strength for foreign conquest.

"Never at any time in our history have we been so free from peril of attack from any quarter in the world as we are to-day. We are asked to pay an increased premium to insure ourselves against an enormously decreased risk.

"If we are to have an army and a navy better than the best, as Comrade Russell has told us we must, we must abandon our democracy and in its place accept imperialism and bureaucratic despotism. That is the logic of my friend's position."

The one cause for fear, Mr. Spargo believed, was the Japanese question. But, he asserted, if we expend 25 billions of dollars to arm and fortify the Pacific Coast, it would cause Japan to make alliances with other countries unfriendly to us.

"Suppose, however," he continued, "we spend only 25 millions through a department of peace to promote good relations and a right understanding with Japan, to draw ever tighter the bonds of friendship between the two peoples, is it not certain that we will do far more to avert war and to insure peace than twenty-five billions spent by a department of war on war preparations could do?"

The speaker also contended that the expenditure of vast sums of money for military preparedness would decrease the money available for social legislation.

"The program of the navy board requires an annual expenditure of some 265 millions on the navy alone, and the army expenditures will be no less. Here, then, we are to spend upon this hideously wasteful work of death and destruction each year far more than the total cost of the Panama Canal. We must abandon the work of social reconstruction and consecrate all our energies to the work of destruction, slaves of Mars.

"I am one of those who believe that out of this war the democracy of Europe will emerge victorious; that it will rise triumphant over the prostrate form of militarism. That the war-weary and peace-hungry millions will be able to institute great and effective campaigns for disarmament in all the belligerent nations, victorious and defeated alike."

James H. Maurer, Socialist legislator in Pennsylvania and President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, dwelt privately on labor conditions in his state—the terrible poverty and uncertainty of livelihood which prevents thousands of men from marrying and induces women to "sell their souls for the price of room rent." He declared that the women could stop wars if they refused to bear more children until the men of the world agree to quit murdering each other.

William English Walling defined the Socialist position toward internationalism. He declared that Socialists have in the past opposed aggressive, though not defensive warfare, and condemned those Social Democrats of Germany who supported what many Germans now admit to be an aggressive imperialist war.

All internationalists, he asserted, demand a suitable indemnity for Belgium and plebiscites in all disputed territories. Those who have failed to demand the right of self-government of all people as one of the conditions of peace are, he believed, false to internationalism.

Preceding the speaking, a number of stirring songs were sung by the diners, led by Laura Eliott and a quartet consisting of students from the Berkeley

and General Theological Schools.

John Spargo told about the year's work.

FREE SPEECH IN OUR COLLEGES

At the informal supper on Tuesday night, presided over by Florence Kelley, the subject of "Academic Freedom," another subject of vital public interest, was placed in the forefront of the program. Prior to a discussion on this subject, however, Mr. Spofford of Berkeley Divinity School gave an interesting talk on the "Relation of the Young Theologue to the I. S. S." He declared that, in his opinion, the ethics of Socialism were akin, if not identical, with the ideals of Christianity, and that a union of religious and social passion would be a great help both to the church and to the Socialist movement. Reverend Albert Williams, formerly of Maverick Church, East Boston, gave an earnest talk on "Socialism as a New Loyalty to the College Bred." John Spargo spoke on the ideal spirit of a college Chapter.

"Colleges," he declared, "are no place, nor student years the time for a spirit of partisanship, and I. S. S. organizations should endeavor to keep to their original purpose of study rather than of propaganda. On the other hand, students should not approach the study of Socialism with a cold detachment. The study should be shot through with a passionate sympathy. Just in proportion as the spirit of study governs us, the best elements in the faculty will respond to an appeal to assist the Chapter. This attitude of study is entirely compatible with an earnest consecration of one's life to a great cause as a result of convictions.

"Socialism should be a ladder," he declared, "leading out of the animal environment into the glory and fellowship of the divine."

Opening the subject of "Academic Freedom," Algernon Lee stated that the existence of Socialist and radical institutions such as the Rand School was rapidly making it impossible for conservative trustees to stifle radical teachings by discharging a live professor.

"Since his discharge," said Mr. Lee, "Scott Nearing has been having the time of his life in addressing gatherings conducted by the Rand School, the I. S. S., the Socialist Party, Women's Clubs, progressive churches and business men's societies, etc.,—far larger than would have been possible had he been retained at the U. of P."

Harry W. Laidler rehearsed the past struggles for academic freedom and declared that the present contest would decide whether or not professors would be able to speak freely, not only in the colleges but also in public on fundamental economic problems. He advocated the abolition of self-perpetuating boards of trustees, the organization of faculty members to resist invasion of their rights and to obtain increased democracy in the management of colleges and the securing of an economic and educational system wherein education no longer depended on the philanthropy of the few.

"At the University of Utah," asserted Bishop Paul Jones of Utah, "16 professors resigned, following the forced resignation of others. Those in control have been too prone to adopt the attitude that anyone who criticised the defects in the educational, economic, political or religious life of this Mormon community was disloyal. Many members of the college body refused to return this year, and went elsewhere. In order to make it appear that the student body has not decreased in numbers, students have been encouraged to attend from other colleges, but in spite of this effort, the student body is smaller this year than formerly."

Dr. George Clarke Cox, formerly of Dartmouth, who was forced to resign from the assistant professorship of philosophy last year without any explanation, was the next speaker.

Dr. Cox declared that many who now criticise the powers that be would act the part of tyrant if they were in control.

"There is no society that will be attacked without resisting," said the speaker. "Those who are in the fight against present conditions should understand this. If you're going to be a rebel, you must be willing to pay the price. You can't expect to be a rebel and have a big bank account. The real point of attack should not be against institutions which, on discharging professors, state frankly the reasons, but against those which fail to give the right reasons—and these are the majority."

Dr. Edmund T. Dana, formerly of

the University of Minnesota, spoke of the difficulty of defining academic freedom.

"You say," declared Dr. Dana, "that a person who has sound views should not be disturbed in his teachings, but who is to judge regarding their soundness? If a person differs from you, don't you think that his views are unsound? Some declare that it is not contrary to the spirit of academic freedom to discharge a person who is spreading a particular propaganda. But any professor who has living beliefs is bound to be a propagandist.

"The question of academic freedom is complicated, furthermore, by the exigencies of college administrations. Many a college president has no personal objection to the teaching of a certain economic doctrine in the college, but he wants the institution to develop a good medical, agricultural, or engineering department. He feels that these departments will be of value to the community and he doesn't want these projects to be hampered by the antagonism of reactionary legislatures.

"The remedy is to get people to realize that there is no absolute truth and that it is exceedingly important to permit the interplay of different points of view."

Jessie W. Hughan declared that academic freedom was often suppressed by refusing to appoint those applicants who were not considered "safe." Dr. Hughan also spoke of the public high school as a place of refuge for economic radicals, declaring that, as a high school teacher, she found it possible to do active Socialist work in her leisure hours without any interference.

Juliet S. Poyntz, the final speaker of the evening, stated that professors in the average university were not free to emphasize the revolutionary viewpoint; that it was, therefore, necessary to build up a revolutionary back-fire in the form of colleges that considered subjects from the Socialist viewpoint, if an intelligent constructive social movement was to be developed.

Survey of the Year's Work

The real spirit of the convention was evinced, however, at the Executive Sessions at 90 Grove St. and Earl Hall, Columbia University.

The first session held at Miss Stokes' Studio, 90 Grove Street, was called to order by Mary R. Sanford, Chairman of the Convention Committee, and presided over by J. G. Phelps Stokes. The Organizing Secretary reported the activities for the year, in part as follows:

"Several distinct features in the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society during the past year have made this—the tenth year of our existence and the fifth year of our very active work—the most stimulating year in our history. We have had a substantial increase in membership. This Spring and Fall 15 Chapters were added in institutions never before represented: Albion, La Crosse, Montana, New York Law, North Dakota Agricultural College, North Dakota University, Northwestern, Syracuse and Utah, Berkeley Divinity School, Grinnell, Iowa State College, Iowa University, Reed and Simpson. Chapters were reorganized, after a lapse of a year or more, at Kansas State Agricultural College, Minnesota, Oberlin and Rochester and after a temporary lapse, at Chicago, Michigan, Miami, Ohio State, Richmond, Washington-Jefferson and New York Dental College. Fourteen other Chapters, contained on our list last year, have been stricken out. Of these latter, however, only three were regarded at the last Convention as genuinely active organizations.

"We have on our list now 70 Chapters which have held meetings during the last year, 54 of which reported activity since the beginning of the present college year. Among the Chapters in existence, more vigor has, for the most part, been shown this year than in a number of years past. This is particularly true in regard to the organizations in and around New York. Of the 70 Chapters heard from during 1915, 32 are in the Middle West, 14 in the New England States, 14 in the Middle Atlantic States, 6 in the Far West and 4 in the South. Of the 15 Chapters formed in new colleges, 11 are in the Middle West, 3 in the Middle Atlantic States and one in the Far West. Iowa leads with 4 new Chapters and New York with 3. There are in these undergraduate Chapters, as near as can be calculated, 1,332 members. The banner Chapter for dues-paying membership is Vassar, which has this year sent in dues for 94 members. The other Chapters, with a membership of over 50, are C. C. N. Y. with 70, Yale with 66, Barnard, Columbia and Illinois with 60, and George Washington with 56. The University of Illinois Chapter boasts of some 20 members among the faculty.

"Twenty-six Chapters contain less than

10 members; 25, between 10 and 25; 13, between 25 and 50, and 6, between 50 and 100.

"The field work of the Society is another feature which has been pushed more vigorously this year than ever before. John Spargo has just returned from a remarkable six weeks' trip among the colleges of the Middle West, during which time he spoke in 25 colleges, before nearly 8,000 students and over 7,000 townspeople, including a very large number of collegians. Professor Brooks of Swarthmore, in commenting upon Mr. Spargo's visit to that college, says: 'As a presentation of Socialism I have never heard anything more lucid and compelling than Mr. Spargo's lectures.' At Otterbein the faculty passed a special resolution of appreciation for Mr. Spargo's clear presentation of Socialism, the first resolution of its kind passed during the last 15 years. At Ohio State between 1,200 and 1,500 crowded the college auditorium to hear him.

"The Society, last year, for the first time in its history, sent a representative to the Pacific Coast. The Organizing Secretary spoke in three of his trips in no less than 59 colleges, before 66 economics, sociology and English classes and at 13 chapel exercises, and had as auditors between 12,000 and 13,000 students and members of the faculty.

"Rose Pastor Stokes toured the Pennsylvania and Ohio colleges in the Spring with marked success. Dr. George R. Lunn spoke before large audiences in the New England Colleges; Scott Nearing this Fall had fine meetings at Harvard, Yale, Barnard and C. C. N. Y. William English Walling, John C. Kennedy, Morris Hillquit, Florence Kelley, Jessie W. Hughan, Vida D. Scudder, Irwin Tucker, Ordway Tead, Hamilton Holt, Jim Larkin, Bouck White, Professor Charles Fagnani, J. Stitt Wilson, and many others addressed two or more undergraduate or graduate groups of the Society throughout the year.

"The Society has also formed during the year alumni groups at Berkeley, Detroit, Portland, Schenectady and Seattle. The Chapters at Chicago, Cleveland and St. Louis have been reorganized. The approximate number of members in the alumni Chapters is 737 and in the general Society, 124. The New York Alumni Chapter is the strongest, with a membership of 285. There are at present 15 active alumni Chapters.

"The Society took another forward step this summer in organizing a Conference at Hampton, N. H., which was a source of genuine inspiration. Plans are now being made for a similar conference next summer.

"A further development of the year is the research work. The first supplement published in connection with the Research Bureau is that by William English Walling, on 'Who Gets America's Wealth?' This supplement will be followed by others on 'Voluntary Co-operation,' 'Collectivism,' 'Unemployment,' 'Industrial Education,' etc. Several professors have agreed to urge their students to take for their master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations subjects suggested by the Society and to send us the results of their researches. We would appreciate the names of any students who could assist us in research work during the summer.

"The Society is also pleased to announce that a source book on the international Socialist movement, edited by several members of the I. S. S. Executive Committee, will be published by Henry Holt & Co. in February or March.

"*The Intercollegiate Socialist* has been increasingly effective during the past year.

"An interesting development in a number of the Chapters during the year has been the co-operation of undergraduate Chapters with other college organizations of an intellectual character.

"The majority of Chapters answering the questionnaire sent from the office declare that they hold meetings twice a month. Ohio State, Barnard, C. C. N. Y., Columbia, Harvard, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Michigan, Valparaiso, Vassar, Yale and Columbia report meetings attended by several hundred students. The attendance at the study meetings of the Chapters reporting ranges from 10 to 30. About 55 per cent. of the members of the undergraduate Chapters were reported as non-Socialists and the remainder as Socialists. Only a handful of anti-Socialists appear to be members. Over 60 per cent. of the Chapters claim that the number of Socialists in the Chapters exceed the number of non-Socialists. The greatest percentage of non-Socialists exists at Yale, where but 4 of the 67 members call themselves Socialists. The Los Angeles College of Osteopathy claims that all of its 25 members are Socialists and the Valparaiso Chapter holds a similar record.

"Among the unique activities of the Chapters are the building up of a Socialist library, circulating or otherwise; the obtaining of a bulletin board for articles regarding Socialism and the Chapter's activities; the organization of lunches addressed by well-known speakers; the placing of Socialist magazines in the college library. Among the books used most frequently in study meetings are Spargo and Arner's 'Elements of Socialism,' Hughan's 'Facts of Socialism,' Hillquit's 'Socialism in Theory and Practice'; while Hillquit and Ryan's 'Socialism: A Promise or Menace,' Ramsay Macdonald's 'The Socialist Movement,' Walling's 'Progressivism and After' have been mentioned in the questionnaire.

Several Chapters are using the general or larger course suggested by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

"Among the needs of the Chapters are: stimulated enthusiasm, time, reorganization, good speakers, place to meet, how to interest evening students in our activities and a pamphlet containing reasons of well-known men and women why college students should study Socialism.

"The members of the undergraduate Chapters can assist the Society in solving several of its problems. Among these problems are: the best method of organizing undergraduate federations in large cities where several clubs exist; the organization of sectional conferences; the formation of Chapters on a permanent basis—in many Chapters all of the officers are seniors and when these are graduated, the Chapter dies; the securing of influential faculty members as members of the Chapter; the working out of programs which combine a discussion on fundamental theoretical phases of Socialism with discussions of current events of vital interest to the student body; the increasing of Chapter membership; the observing of the spirit of the organization—that of study—the keeping in touch with collegians after their college days are over.

"The I. S. S. has already gained an enviable reputation in hundreds of colleges of the country for the calibre of the speakers sent out and for the literature provided, and gives greater promise of becoming an ever more important factor in the life of the American college.

"In conclusion may I here express my appreciation of all the good co-operation upon the part of the hundreds of students in our colleges and pledge the support of the I. S. S. to them in the fine work they are accomplishing toward bringing the ideals of democracy, of freedom and brotherhood, interpreted in terms of our social and economic life, before those hosts of eager-minded students who are destined to be among the great hopes in the days that are to come."

Messages from the Delegates

After the report of the Organizing Secretary, Horace Fort of the I. S. S. Chapter at Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., which has the distinction of being the first organization in the history of the I. S. S. containing all of the members of the student body, told of the growing interest at the school in social and economic problems, as evidenced by the fact that the majority of the 26 students are Socialists. The Chapter has adopted a most suggestive program for its study meetings.

"Following the regular order of business at each study meeting," declared Mr. Fort, "fifteen minutes are to be devoted to a lesson in Socialism with Spargo and Arner's 'Essentials of Socialism' as the text book; ten minutes to the reading and discussion of current events; five minutes to a biographical sketch of a prominent Socialist and fifteen minutes to debate. Each of these departments will be in the hands of a student. The Chapter is not confining its attention to the Berkeley Divinity School. It is trying to come in contact with the members of the old Chapter at Wesleyan and establish Chapters at Trinity College, Hartford Theological Seminary and elsewhere, and, in the Spring, to organize a Conference for the students of the Connecticut colleges."

Eleanor W. Parker of Barnard told of the formation there of a Social Science League, consisting of members of the Socialist Club, the Feminist Club, and members at large for the purpose of co-operating at large meetings, and of successful luncheons.

Hugh Magee of Boston Theological Seminary told of the proposed formation of a Chapter there in connection with Professor Harry Ward's Industrial Evangelism class. Donald M. Stern of Columbia emphasized the success of the Thursday luncheons conducted by the Chapter and addressed by well-known men and women.

David M. Brunswick of Harvard told of good meetings with Florence Kelley, Scott Nearing and Harry W. Laidler in the Fall. That the Chapter at Howard had held eight public meetings during the last year, with an average attendance of 300, was contained in the report of William H. Foster of that Chapter. The group now consists of 35 members, including a number of members of the faculty and the editor of the University journal.

S. Lasky of C. C. N. Y. declared that about 75 per cent. of the students in his Alma Mater were Socialists and nearly all were sympathetic. He also dwelt upon the value of informal re-

ceptions in developing the club spirit. The Chapter at the college, he asserted, was the most active and influential undergraduate body there. Dr. Jacob Zeitlin of the University of Illinois told of the able work of Carl Haessler and R. S. Loomis, former Rhodes scholars and at present members of the faculty in building up the Chapter. Nearly all the Chapter meetings are addressed by non-Socialists. An important part of the meeting is the discussion at which lecturers are showered with spicy and, at times, disconcerting questions.

The New York University School of Commerce, represented by J. Novins, reported the organization of a debating team scheduled to debate students from a New Jersey school in Newark on January 15th. Fredericka Zuckerman of Oberlin declared that the preparation at each meeting of three or four original papers on fundamental phases of Socialism, and the reading of classic quotations on Socialism, have made the meetings there most valuable. The work of Miss Rauschenbusch was especially commended.

David Miller, who represented the recently re-organized Ohio State Chapter; N. I. Hourwich, of the University of Pennsylvania, A. Epstein, of the University of Pittsburgh, who also brought greetings from the Carnegie Institute of Technology; Lester Libby, of Springfield College, and Grace B. Townsend, of Syracuse, gave encouraging reports concerning the work of their respective organizations. Anna Mendelson of Radcliffe told of their successful co-operation with the Harvard Chapter in some of their larger meetings.

Ruth Roberts of Vassar stated that the Chapter reached its present membership of 94 as a result of a vigorous membership campaign in the beginning of the season. Printed programs of meetings proposed for the year were sent to every member of the student body and the appeal bore fruit. The Chapter has the use of a bulletin board in one of the college halls and the columns of the Weekly Miscellany are constantly made use of for articles regarding vital social problems. Ray Bridgman of Yale gave an eloquent account of the activities in the University. J. Yampolsky, formerly of the University of Georgia, told of the splendid possibilities for work in the South, and urged the Society to send organizers in that part of the country.

Harriett L. Jones told how advantageous it was to the Wilkes-Barre Alumni Chapter to have at its various meetings men and women of varied professions and trades.

Paul H. Douglas dwelt upon the great importance of careful research work in discovering social facts, described the plans of the Society in regard to the publication of research pamphlets and urged all students to assist the Society in its work of gathering authentic material on co-operation, municipal and federal collectivism and on other phases of the social problem.

Problems of College Chapters

At the Wednesday morning meeting, held in Earl Hall, Columbia University, Ray Bridgman of Yale led off with a discussion regarding the best way to conduct public meetings. He thought it important that the head of the local Chapter should act as chairman of the various meetings and should always try to inculcate in the students a great passion for humanity. The students of the I. S. S., he declared, cannot set their ideals too high.

The students of Yale, he thought, were benefited by the attendance and the keen questions of workingmen from New Haven at the public meetings.

Benjamin D. Kaplan of C. C. N. Y. told of the original posters used in call-

ing attention to the Scott Nearing meeting. An interesting discussion led by S. Lasky took place regarding the way in which the general Society could assist the individual Chapters. Many delegates expressed their belief that more space in the magazine should be given to I. S. S. notes than at present.

Mr. Laidler urged the members to keep the Society informed concerning Chapter activities, officers, etc.; to see that dues were paid and that correspondence was answered promptly; to sell as much of the I. S. S. literature as possible at meetings of the Chapters; to order books through the central office; to do missionary work among the adjoining colleges in organizing and strengthening Chapters; to endeavor to interest in the Society the best intellects in college; to see that every worth-while group is represented in the membership of the Chapter, and to let the Society hear of any suggestions which may strengthen its work.

Among the other speakers of the morning were A. C. Binder of Harvard, George Sokolsky of Columbia, Hugh Magee of Boston Theological Seminary, Elizabeth Brandeis of Radcliffe, William H. Foster of Howard, Professor W. P. Ladd of Berkeley Divinity School, Alexander Trachtenberg of Yale, L. T. Piazza of Pittsburgh, Harriet L. Jones of Wilkes-Barre, and John Spargo.

The Question Box

Prior to the Question Box Session at Earl Hall, Wednesday afternoon, Alexander Trachtenberg dealt with the menace of militarism in the colleges. He declared that those interested in militarism desired students to go to summer camps not so much to train them thoroughly in military tactics, as to give them the militarist psychology. He spoke of companies organized at Dartmouth, Harvard, Yale, Princeton and elsewhere and expressed it as his opinion that if the military spirit gained great headway in the colleges, the I. S. S. Chapters and all organizations dealing with social and economic problems would greatly suffer. A committee of three, at the suggestion of Mr. Trachtenberg, was appointed to investigate the subject of militarism in the colleges and to report to the general Society. Alexander Trachtenberg of Yale, John Spargo and George Sokolsky of Columbia were appointed members of the committee.

Following this discussion, Dr. Jessie W. Hughan ably answered many questions at the Question Box Session on preparedness, Socialist theory, Socialist tactics, the Socialist State and the relation of Socialism to other movements.

Alumni Chapter Session

At the last session of the convention, held Thursday morning, December 30, at Miss Stokes' Studio, the question of the Summer Conference occupied the center of the stage. Mrs. George S. Frank led the discussion, which was also participated in by Miss Sanford, Miss Stokes, Miss Poyntz, and Messrs. Spargo, Stokes and Trachtenberg. All agreed that last summer's conference had been a distinct step forward in the activities of the Society and that the conference should be a permanent institution.

Several suggestions were made for locations for the summer conference, and concerning the character of the discussion.

The whole matter was referred to the Summer Conference Committee, which will shortly act. The importance of Research Work was also emphasized by Juliet S. Poyntz and others.

DELEGATES TO CONVENTION

Forty-two regular and 8 fraternal delegates attended the Convention as follows:

Barnard College — Doris Maddon, Eleanor Parker, Estelle Albert, Ruth Budinoff, Susie Hoch; *Berkeley Divinity School*—Charles H.

Collett, Horace Fort, W. B. Spoffard, Hugh Daniels (Frat.), G. I. Hiller (Frat.), Prof. W. P. Ladd; *Boston University Theological Seminary*—Hugh W. Magee; *C. C. N. Y.*—B. D. Kaplan, S. Lasky, M. Lustig, R. Ross, M. Rosenzweig; *Columbia*—Donald M. Stern, Milton Dietz, Esther Norton, Alice Fox, Albert Seadler, George Sokolsky; *Harvard*—David M. Brunswick, A. C. Binder; *Howard*—William Foster; *Illinois Univ.*—Clara Haessler, Jacob Zeitlin, Lois Miles (Frat.); *N. Y. Law School*—Max Levin; *N. Y. U. Commerce*—Jacob K. Novius and M. Abrams (Frat. Del.); *Oberlin*—Fredericka Zuckerman; *Ohio State*—David Miller; *Univ. of Pennsylvania*—N. Hourwich; *Pittsburgh Univ.*—A. Epstein, L. T. Piazza; *Radcliffe*—Anna Mendelson, Elizabeth Brandeis, Ruth Brunswick; *Springfield College*—Lester W. Libby; *Syracuse Univ.*—Grace E. Townsend; *Vassar*—Ruth Roberts; *Yale*—Alexander L. Trachtenberg, Ray C. Bridgman; *Wilkes-Barre Alumni*—Harriet L. Jones.

Scott Nearing at C. C. N. Y.

By S. Lasky

The news of Professor Nearing's acceptance to speak before the C. C. N. Y. Chapter was most gratifying to the leaders of the club. Although every lecture given by the I. S. S. has been successful it was quite evident that this one would surpass all previous engagements and would create a record for society meetings in the college.

Instead of giving the meeting wide publicity at the outset, the officers thought it best to keep it a secret even from the members of the club, so that the news, when given out, could take the men by storm. Meanwhile the other societies in the college were informed that the Socialist Study Club had a very prominent speaker for the 16th of December, and if any organization should try to arrange a lecture for that day, it would certainly prove to be disastrous for that body. This warning, substantiated by the past record of the Socialist Society, was enough to make everyone sit up and take notice.

Three weeks before the date of the meeting large signs were spread broadcast throughout the college domain bearing question marks and "December 16," with no other information. It was not very long before "December 16" was in the mouth of many students. This aroused great curiosity, and they were at a loss to learn what it was all about. A week later, posters were distributed bearing two items of the lecture; namely, the date and place. These were announced in various attractive styles. For example, the sign would read, "Stay Away (large type) if you can't come on time" (small type), then date and place. Others were headed in the following manner: "You will not get in (large type), later than 12:05 P. M." (small type); "The door will shut you out (large type), after 12:05" (small type); "The man of the hour"; "Who?" then the place and date were given; "A sure treat," and many signs of this character.

By this time the people's anxiety and curiosity became almost uncontrollable. Time and again the professors were asked to throw some light upon the subject of this lecture rather than upon the subject of the text. The last week before the meeting announcements were made bearing more positive information. The "who," the "where" and the "when" were answered in the most attractive manner. A cartoonist and an artist — both students — were kept busy making pictures to accompany the final set of announcements. The artist fulfilled his task by reproducing paintings of Scott Nearing's portrait, and some eight or

ten colored pictures bearing a few words that suggested Nearing's lecture. For example, one picture showed a football player kicking the ball, while the words under it said, "Go! to hear," etc. Another had a man tied to a post and bore the following words: "Unless you are tied," etc. Still another showed a housewife driving her husband from the house, commanding him to "Go!" etc.

Outside of the above-mentioned publicity the meeting was announced in all the lecture rooms of the college. Special distinction was given to this affair by the college weekly, which announced Professor Nearing's lecture in its headline. On the day of the meeting, immediately after the eleven o'clock hour, people began to flock to the hall by the hundreds. Group after group went streaming into the lecture hall from all directions. In a few minutes the doors of the auditorium had to be shut, because every inch of available space had been taken up and a great many had to be turned away. Some of these unfortunates were content to strain their ears behind the keyholes in the endeavor to hear the famous economist.

After having delivered the lecture on "Leadership and Democracy" before a gathering of over a thousand, Professor Nearing was entertained at a banquet arranged by a committee composed of several members of the faculty and students. The professor expressed his great delight at the cordial reception tendered to him at C. C. N. Y.

The Vassar Supplement

The Vassar Chapter of the I. S. S.

GERTRUDE FOLKS, 1916

Chairman of the Vassar Chapter

Though established only last spring, the Vassar Chapter of the I. S. S. reflects an interest in Socialism of more than a single year's growth. For many years there has been in each class a group of Socialists, "radicals," as the college calls them, who not confining their critical spirit to affairs of the college have sought to apply it to general social and industrial problems. Through the course in Socialism, elected this year by about 150 students, they have become familiar with the theory of Socialism and the arguments for and against. Even before they had an organization, they found further expression for this interest in holding informal meetings, presenting through the college publication the Socialist interpretation of current events, and attending lectures, etc., held in Poughkeepsie. In 1909 and again in 1912 this group was particularly active and more influential in the college than in preceding years. But it was not until last year that the interest, or perhaps the recognition of this interest, was general enough on the part of the students, and the attitude of the college authorities friendly enough to the expression of this interest to make it seem desirable to ask for an organization.

As a result of a petition of the Students' Association, permission was given in March, 1915, to establish an affiliated chapter of the I. S. S.

The purpose of our organization is twofold: to create an interest in Socialism and to educate that interest. We do not consider ourselves propagandist, although we recognize that education often leads to conversion. Through lectures, study courses, a Socialist bulletin board, a circulating library of various types of books dealing with social questions, and through co-operation with the Poughkeepsie Local Branch of the Socialist Party, we hope to reach not only the ninety students who have declared their interest by joining the Chapter, but others who have not yet taken this step. On the whole, however, the initial interest must be created through other channels; through academic work, through personal acquaintanceship with those already interested, and through the presentation of Socialist thought in connection with other interests.

Those who have been working for this organization at Vassar regard its establishment not as the attainment of the end toward which they have been devoting their efforts, but as the beginning of a new and wider activity. The problem of the Vassar Chapter during the next few years will be to develop, in spite of the restrictions as to lectures, etc., imposed upon a comparatively small club, into a large, effective organization whose influence in the college will be recognized by both faculty and students. Just as the athletic and dramatic organizations exist to provide avenues of expression for the physical and aesthetic life of the students, so the Socialist Club, through the study not only of Socialist doctrines but of current social and political questions should stand beside these organizations as a means of expression of the students' intellectual life and social attitude. It should direct the intellectual curiosity stimulated in the classroom along vital social lines and provide for it a more complete development than that which it receives through acadamic work alone.

Utopia and Ways to Reach It

By Winifred Smith,
Instructor in English, Vassar

Not long ago I attended a questionnaire held at one of our colleges after a lecture by an able I. S. S. organizer—one of the several such meetings that in my experience have come to seem typical of much American university Socialism—and as I listened with somewhat discouraged interest to question and answer following each other in an unconnected "discussion," I wondered more than ever before at the unreality and aloofness of it all. The young people in the room were eager and sincere sympathizers with the cause they were gathered to study, that was quite evident, yet they were as much in the clouds about their subject as medieval schoolmen meditating upon Heaven.

"What type of character will be developed by Socialism?" they asked.

"What will be the political form of the state under Socialism?"

"What will be the average income in the Socialistic state?"

Patiently the lecturer inclined his ear, patiently he attempted to introduce present facts into his replies, as though to remind his hearers that Socialism to-day is a practical program,

manifesting itself in different localities in various active forms—the queries with few exceptions reverted to the skies and to that far-off Utopian tomorrow which may dawn "under Socialism."

Such a meeting, as I have said, not a unique example of tendency, is indicative of a grave danger in collegiate Socialism, one that may become a still graver characteristic of the "intellectuals" in the American movement at large. Instead of occupying ourselves, as the study courses of the I. S. S. suggest we should do, with the history of the trend toward democracy and of analyzing the problems of our own immediate localities by the light of historical knowledge, instead of trying to probe beneath the specious and often dishonestly partial accounts of class struggle in our newspapers, we continue in our thinking the unscholarly habits of ancient theorists, building a city in the hypothetical future and losing ourselves in journeys through its hazy perspectives. Just so theologians in the Middle Ages withdrew themselves from the wicked present to name and catalog the Deadly Sins and Heavenly Virtues, abstracting their warfare from human conditions and finding its motives in another sphere; precisely so they reasoned of ideal character and of the laws of its divine origin and function. That they often created beautiful visions and found peace for their own souls in such exercises of imagination perhaps sufficiently justifies their contemplations, yet the fact is self-evident that had they oftener looked over their walls at the dirty serfs whose toil outside made possible monastic and aristocratic leisure within, they might by learning to appraise values in more actual terms, have immensely hastened the day of popular education and of awakening class consciousness. Their comparative freedom from economic pressure is paralleled in modern academic life, hence the likeness between idealists' dreams in the two environments; the present-day college student has indeed advanced a step beyond the monk by removing Utopia from Heaven to earth, but Plato and More both did that, some time ago. Other advances must be made if radical thought on political questions is ever to permeate and purge the world.

One way toward breaking down academic barriers lies within the power of teachers to point out and has already been seen by some of the experimenters in popular education described in the Deweys' recent book, *Schools of To-morrow:* that way is through a training more strictly individualized and localized in its foundations than any as yet generally attempted. The Gary school, ironic offspring of capitalistic philanthropy, is but the largest exemplar of these new schools where life is being investigated at first hand by children whose teachers try before everything to keep alive natural curiosity about the immediate environment; geography is taught first in very local terms, history and mathematics are also kept as practical as possible, reading and writing are treated as tools in the search for interesting information and record—in short, hands and muscles are made to co-operate in sharpening eyes and ears and brains. The theories underlying such revolutionary enterprises are simple enough; they insist upon the importance of developing sensitiveness both to beauty and to the ugly inadequacies of average living conditions, and they assert that once this sensitiveness is developed the battle for a more harmonious world will be half won, for no one will continue to endure discords fully recognized.

It will be a long time before the schools generally will come into the promising way opening before them,—witness the fight over establishing the Gary svstem in New York this winter

—but at least a start has been made. Are the universities equally alive to the educational value of their environments? In some respects they are, as the Intercollegiate Undergraduate Conference held at Vassar in October sufficiently suggested. College men and women everywhere in the country are beginning to see their own internal problems with a vividness that is quite refreshing; in a few scattered instances, the most striking the case of the Good Government Club of Williams, the narrow inner group consciousness is passing over into a broader community consciousness. As yet such localizing of interest is mostly in the province of extra-curriculum organizations, but there are not wanting signs of student demand forcing a recognition of wider social demands in the curriculum itself.

Here at Vassar we are already committed to an extra-curriculum undertaking that if carried on will be as socially educative as the schools' local programs I have just alluded to. For years the college has been living blindly beside an ugly little suburb of Poughkeepsie, one of those haphazard and unintelligent clusters of small houses and large families which are such blots on American horizons. Of late, for various reasons, both faculty and students, not by any means only the Socialists among us but all who have anything of democratic citizen spirit, have become insistently aware of the look and feel of our surroundings and have determined to search for remediable causes behind unpleasant appearances. As yet we have not accomplished much, there was not much to be done till mutual acquaintance had broken down long-standing incomprehension, but a good beginning has been made. The district school is greatly improved and is on the way to becoming a social center; a public library has been started, likewise a fire company in whose hall weekly entertainments, lectures or dances, are held; a district nurse has begun work and is binding together various sections of the town; village planning is being talked of, better roads and sidewalks have already been partially secured. None of these results has been imposed by one section of the community upon another, for all activities have been initiated by college and citizens working together to define their common problems and to set afoot improvements. Not all of our Socialists take part in this social movement, some fear in it a dangerous philanthropy, yet those of us who can join in the work find there an antidote to the discouraging paralysis resultant from overmuch theorizing and believe it to be an important local step toward the democratic cooperation for common objects that must develop generally if ever we are to live in Utopia "under Socialism."

Co-Operation in a New Field

By Katharine Taylor,

Instructor in English, Vassar

If you catch it young, and nourish it in just the right way, a co-operative venture sometimes comes to maturity. If you take a half-grown one, and try to pretend that you know it through and through, you usually make a mistake or two, and the adolescent in your care comes to grief. By "you" I mean all partners in the venture. And when it comes to grief it is usually through some lack of co-ordination among its various members. As it happened, The

Good Fellowship Club House at Vassar College turned out to be a venture of the first mentioned class. And now it is entering upon its adult life, with prospects of increasing good health and effectiveness.

About fifteen years ago some members of the college came to the realization that a college not closely connected with a town has its social disadvantages as well as its geographical attractions. One of these social disadvantages at Vassar College was the comparative isolation of its two hundred or more women employes. The college plant was constructed for the students, and all available space was used for their accommodation and study and recreation. The employes did the work that make the wheels of the community run smoothly, and in the old-fashioned conception of the early college I imagine that they figured as little more than spokes to the wheels. At any rate their leisure time, their personal interests, their possible ambitions were more or less ignored in an institution that fostered those very features of the lives of its students.

A few teachers and students had been interested in a club of employes years before the concerted movement came. Then the Students' Association took the matter up, and began to raise money for a club house. In 1908 the house was completed, and soon thereafter a running endowment was raised by the joint efforts of maids and students. From the beginning a marked characteristic of the life of the club house has been its co-operative quality. Although the first big financial task had to be done in a paternalistic manner, the venture has since shown an increasingly democratic tendency.

A trained settlement worker lives at the Club House and directs its work. She co-operates on the one hand with the Students' Association and on the other hand with the Good Fellowship Club, composed of the women employes of the college. She is the central power needed in an enterprise comprising such diverse groups of people and plans for action. Neither the students nor the maids have time to take the responsibility that they place in her hands. But they all are eager to work with her for the interest of the thing they care about.

The house is small, but excellently planned for its many uses. It is a cottage, with broad porches and low roof. Inside there are a large living room, a library, a dining room. Upstairs are an infirmary, one or two small clubrooms, several sewing machines in the hall, and the director's room. The basement is fitted out for kitchen and laundry work. At odd moments of the day one finds these rooms well occupied by club members, studying, making up their new clothes, cake-baking, running the victrola, practicing on the piano, and sitting about the fire talking.

The organized educational work of the club is managed by the students, working with the director. It adapts itself very flexibly to the needs of the club members. One member may want to prepare to enter a business college. Another may want to take the Regents' examinations, to gain High School credit. Some girl may have a long-felt eagerness to learn French, while her friend has always wanted to try to draw. As soon as a girl makes her desire known a student teacher is found to work with her toward its realization. Several of the former club members are now graduate nurses, one of these having been employed as a school nurse by the Board of Education of New York City. Others are aiming toward secretarial work, or preparing for Pratt Institute courses in designing or housekeeping.

A scholarship fund is to be established soon, the interest from which will be loaned to girls of promise who want definite training in some particular line of work. The director finds a

fertile field for vocational guidance. Talking over with the different girls their future plans, she is often able to discover in them a real aptitude for certain kinds of work, and by her experience in ways and means she can point out the road that leads them away from a "job," and toward a "vocation." This is one of the most interesting features of the club house work.

The club itself helps to plan all of this work, and takes more and more initiative as time goes on. Committees are formed to plan for parties, musical and dramatic entertainments, and new lines of club activity. Recently there has been a genuine desire to share interests with the neighboring village of Arlington. The Good Fellowship Club last year repeated one of its plays in the village, and the proceeds went to help furnish the new Fire House. The Club made the first contribution this year for the running expenses of the district nurse recently employed by the college Christian Association, under the direction of the New York State Charities Aid Association to try to effect better sanitary and hygienic conditions in Arlington and the surrounding country.

Thus little by little the club is learning what it is to be a part of a community, and as this knowledge increases, the sense of isolation, class separation, purposelessness, fade out of its corporate life and vanish from the point of view of its members and of the students who are working with them as well. At the same time both employes and students in the college are learning to think about their work intelligently, to define what they demand as proper conditions of work and to focus their lives as individuals. The training in citizenship afforded by the practical work of the club has its effect in developing an initiative, an independence of mind and a community sense that are permanent value in their lives.

Men Mending a Pipe

By Elizabeth Mason Heath, Vassar,

The low-browed tunnel is baking black
With a grimy blackness that smears
his face,
And dries his nose with its blasting
stench,
And pushes his eye-balls out of their
place;
All in the gulp of a breath.
He drinks it down till this dusty death
Is the native life of his dusty lungs.
The thin blood pounds in his crowded
head,
Or the hot steam batters against the
bungs,
It's all the same in the choking dark.
The spot-light cleaves a finger mark
And wavers against the retreating
night.

The steampipes and their shadows
crawl,
Little and big, against the wall,
From the roughcast ceiling spiders fall
And pale bugs scuttle out of the light.
He crouches onward a weary space,
Searches, and finds the broken pipe.
His hot eyes strain on the tiny crack,
The darkness presses against his back,
Eternity hangs between the clack
Of one steampipe and the next.

Low and dusty and close and flat,
The tunnel stifles him in its gripe.
He shares its life with his brother the
rat——
His work of the world in a broken pipe.

The War and Unemployment in England

By Frieda Maynard, Vassar, 1917

It is a fact worth pondering upon at this time when we are in the midst of the most widely destructive war ever waged in the history of the world, that poverty returns in England are the lowest ever recorded. They indicate that there are fewer people in the workhouses and fewer people receiving material assistance through the poor law unions than at any time since records have been kept. Does this mean that the lame have been made to walk, the blind to see and the deaf to hear? No, it simply means that in times of peace there are men and women in the workhouses who have labor value, which in times of war, when the most efficient citizens are sent to destroy and be destroyed, is utilized by industry. At the same time, it is true that there is less unemployment than for many years among that large class of workers which at ordinary times is just able to exist without regular outside assistance. At a time of fearful destruction of human and economic wealth there are more people in England who are enjoying the blessings of civilization than ever before.

Is it not a terrible indictment of our modern society that a large percentage of the population, which is able and willing to take its place in the community life is refused the privilege, and is forced to live in misery and degradation until the scarcity of labor, caused by war, makes it indispensable to industry?

Chicago Women Voters

By Sarah Greenebaum, Vassar, 1919

Suffragists are continually being asked, "What difference will Woman Suffrage make? Will not women vote just as the men do, merely doubling the former vote?"

It is as an answer to these questions that the results of the last election in Chicago are significant. In Illinois, where women have only partial suffrage, men and women have different ballots; it was possible therefore to determine how the women were voting.

On the Republican Primary ticket there were two men of distinctly different types, Chief Justice Olson who was supported by the Municipal Voters' League and other associations which were working towards a better civic government, and Mr. Thompson, the present mayor of the city. Of the 60,000 votes cast by the women, there was a majority of 7,000 for Olson. Thompson was nominated by the men, receiving a majority of 10,000 of the 116,000 men's votes. Even though their efforts for reform were defeated, the women in this case did not vote just as the men. They registered their protest against the present administration.

In the aldermanic elections, the two worst aldermen were defeated through the women's votes and in all but ten wards, a greater percentage of women than men supported the League candidate. Are we not justified in claiming that Woman Suffrage does make a difference and is a direct force for good government?

Book Review

MARXIAN SOCIALISM AND RELIGION. By John Spargo. N. Y.: Huebsch. $1.00.

There has just been issued from the press a book of less than two hundred small pages which bears the above title. Were its author unknown, the title would at once suggest another volume setting forth the antagonism between the teachings of Marx and the tenets of religion. To every fair-minded student of these two subjects a profound satisfaction is felt when beneath the title of this little book is read the name of John Spargo.

The spirit of the author is set forth in the words with which the book's brief preface closes:

"It is my earnest hope to contribute to a better understanding of Socialism by many men and women of religious belief and affiliations, and to a better understanding of religion by my fellow Socialists. If it lessens the misunderstanding and prejudice between these two classes I shall be content."

The volume consists of but five chapters. The first chapter is a general treatment of "Religion and the Socialist Program" and gives a very clear and essentially fair picture of the antagonism and hostility between the two, as voiced by many of their representatives in the press and from pulpit and platform. He describes the relation of hostility as a "warfare of texts" and lays bare the superficial and partisan foundation of much of the misunderstanding which he admits to exist in the minds of those who contend. He is as just to and as unsparing of the false interpreters among the Socialists who condemn religion as among the ecclesiastical writers who condemn Socialism.

The second chapter is perhaps the most striking of the volume. It is entitled "Religion Defined." Beginning with an analysis of the abuse and the misuse of the word "religion," he presents its definition at the hands of a wide range of religious thinkers, ancient and modern. Among these are such men as Dr. Thomas C. Hall, Rabbi Schulman, Professor Fagnani, Father Ryan, and Dean Hodges.

With equal clearness and remarkable simplicity in the third chapter Mr. Spargo sets forth the essentials of Marxism. It is refreshing to have this strong champion of Socialism deal with the difficulties and omissions in the writings of Marx. One quotation from Engels will suffice:

"Marx and I are partly responsible for the fact that the younger men have sometimes laid more stress on the economic side than it deserves. In meeting the attacks of our opponents it was necessary for us to emphasize the dominant principle denied by them; but when anyone distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The view that every fact of history can be explained on economic grounds is not only pedantic but ridiculous."

In the next chapter the author treats the combined topics of Religion and Marxism, their philosophical foundation, their divergent realms and their underlying moral and material elements. His treatment of class-consciousness is frank and strong. He holds to the conclusion that there is no philosophical or ethical element in Marxism which conflicts with a reverent and profound belief in a personal God. "To believe in God and in the Marxian theory requires no evasive interpretations."

"Religion and the Socialist Movement" is the title of the final chapter. In this are set forth declarations disavowing hostility to religion by the German Party, the Austrian Party, the Belgian Labor Party, the Socialist Party of America, etc. He interprets the hostility of French Socialists to religion, of Italian Socialists toward Jesuits, and seeks to show a wide de-

crease in the spirit of atheism and a striking growth toward religion.

Mr. Spargo's latest book is eminently worth the reading—is, in fact, an invaluable contribution to a subject which was never more vital than to-day. RICHARD HOGUE.

VIOLETTE OF PERE LACHAISE. By Anna Strunsky Walling. N. Y.: Stokes & Co. $1.00.

There are too few of us in the movement who dare as much as Violette dared. Who dare yield to the sheer joyousness of living, feeling, loving, lest, somehow, by so daring we violate the sacred cause to which we are dedicate. Rebels though we are against all that makes for unhappiness in society, individually we go through life painting the rosy picture of universal well-being with long, pale, woe-begone faces: unless the great miracle intervenes and floods us with joy too great to withstand.

The great miracle came to Violette when lesser ones had already deep-rooted her soul in gladness: her love for her grandfather; for her friend; for the beauties of Pere Lachaise where the Finger of Death, raised in warning like the cold hard facts of suffering and wrong in the world, could not, in the end, "scare off" the "unaverred but prodigal inward joy" of her. And when he who came and wrought the great miracle suddenly went, her joy did not go with his going. Enough for her glad heart that somewhere in the world was the one face beyond all faces. For the heart that has truly known love not even Death itself can bring disaster. She suffered a while, being human. But soon joy again possessed her—even in the face of what might have been disaster but for the unconquerable joy in her.

The end, however, leaves the reader unsatisfied. At least it did this reader. Violette seems to me to be resigned to death, and I don't like resignation—not even to death. I believe it is through the unresigned of the earth that many, perhaps all of the plagues that beset mankind and are regarded as "inevitable," "natural," even "God-sent" will be wiped out of existence. Through the unresigned of the earth the causes of all disease will some day be known, fought and eliminated. All disease. Social as well as physical. And who shall say that through the unresigned of the earth even death itself may not be eliminated! I believe. And this belief is as deep-rooted in me as joy in Violette. There should exist a lively rebellion against death. Not bitter, not unhappy; but such as we would show, were we scientists and masters in the special fields required, in dedicating our lives in the gladdest spirit to foil the one last great enemy of mankind, our inspiration, the burning conviction that the impossible of to-day is the possible of to-morrow, even to the most obvious, most staggering impossibility.

We, the impotent against death to-day, might, at least, leave to the future a healthy rebellion against death. This may yet prove the greatest heritage; for without it, the future like the present—unaided by revolt or blinded by resignation—might pass without even touching the great secret lying within reach of its hands.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

INCOME. By Scott Nearing, Ph.D. N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.25.

The book is an eloquent plea for a just economic system in which those who do the world's work shall reap full fruit of their labor. It fills a very conspicuous gap in economic literature in that it makes a serious effort at a comprehensive evaluation of the division of the social product between those who work and those who own the means of production.

In making his estimates, Dr. Nearing

was quite right in placing on one hand all income derived as a reward for personal effort or service, and on the other, all income derived through ownership, whether it be called profit, interest, or rent. It was not necessary, however, in justification of this procedure to attack all theories of economics because they take cognizance of and deal separately with each of these categories. In following the course he has chosen, he took on too big a contract which impartial economists will fail to find he has performed to his credit.

With a light heart the author sweeps aside the solid structure of economic thought which has been slowly built up by some of the greatest minds of two centuries when he says:

"Heretofore, economics has distinguished between landlords, capitalists, and laborers for the very absurd reason that at some time in the past under an agricultural civilization, such a classification was supposed to have been accurate. Such a distinction was never particularly valid. Its greatest justification lay in its traditional origin. It was, moreover, an objective distinction." (P. 16.)

Why the conception of "capitalist" should have fitted an agricultural civilization the author does not stop to explain. All he tells us is that the time has come for a new classification "based on function rather than on tradition" (p. 17).

As though the conception of landlord, capitalist and promoter were not based on distinct functions which even plain mortals, who have not studied economics at universities, are fully aware of.

What Dr. Nearing proposes is to consolidate for the purpose of simplification the incomes of all of these into one property-income, in contrast with service-income.

After declaring, however, that "the laborer receives returns for the expenditure of energy," and the capitalist and landlord "for the ownership of property" (p. 17), Dr. Nearing destroys his own house of cards by discovering a new universal law determining the share of product received by each—that wages, interest and rent "are returns to monopoly power" (p. 16). If, after all, monopoly is the sole cause determining the returns of these factors, why distinguish them at all and why speak of ethical economics as Dr. Nearing does? In what way the monopoly of one is offset by the monopoly of the other in the process of division of the social product and by what process the share of each is made what it is, as to all that we are left in the dark.

But, while very weak on the theoretical side, the book is a most valuable contribution to the arsenal of the Socialist and social reformer for the mass of data bearing upon the distribution of social income among different classes of society. The author has ransacked official reports of the Federal and state governments and brought together a mass of hitherto unrelated data. While dealing for the most part with crude and frequently inaccurate statistical matter, he has shown great cleverness in separating the grain of truth from the chaff which usually goes to fill ponderous statistical reports. By supplying what seem to be well-founded and, on the whole, conservative estimates to fill the gaps in the official reports, he has been able to arrive at an approximate estimate of the respective shares that the workers and property owners receive from the nation's annual bounty. The impression created by these cold figures is overwhelming. Incidentally the findings dispose of the ghost that has been stalking through Socialist leaflets and pamphlets claiming that the workers receive something like one-fifth to one-fourth of the product of industry, leaving four-fifths to three-fourths to the property owners. Actual conditions

are bad enough and need not be exaggerated in justification of the worker's claim for a larger share of the product his labor helps to create.

Wages. What are the main facts established by Nearing's analysis? Most of the wage data scattered in federal and state reports relate to wage rates rather than actual earnings. The rates are hourly rates, but in order to compare their annual earnings, the author converts the hourly rates into "annual rates," by assuming that the workers are employed every week day in the year for a full number of hours. Needless to say that this results in an exaggeration of the actual earnings of the workers, because of periods of enforced idleness in many of the trades and of unemployment due to sickness.

Bearing these limitations in mind, the author's summary of available wage data shows that if workers were steadily employed every week-day in the year, about one-half of them would average less than ten dollars a week, about one-third would average from ten to fifteen, one-seventh from fifteen to twenty dollars, and only six per cent. of all the workers in the manufacturing industries of the United States would average a wage of twenty dollars a week and more (p. 100). The situation varies, of course, from industry to industry.

Having ascertained, as near as available statistics permit, the earnings or rather the highest possible earnings of those who work for wages or salaries, the author makes an attempt to arrive at a comparison of all the wages and salaries paid as against the total amount paid in dividends and interest. In the absence of accurate information on the subject he is forced to resort to a round-about series of estimates which does credit to his skill as a statistician and command of available sources of information. Two estimates are presented for property income: first, an estimate of the potential income-yielding property, second, an estimate of income payments made annually to owners of various kinds of property. Against this the author places the total wages and salaries known to be paid annually.

From these data the author arrives at an estimate of the total value of potential income-producing property at 170 billion dollars. As it is well known that not all business property brings a return to its owners, he estimates the average yield first at 3 per cent., which would amount to more than five billion dollars. On the other hand, as much of the property yields very large returns, he makes another assumption of a 6 per cent. return which would yield over ten billion dollars (p. 128).

In his other estimate he attempts to figure out actual payments made in dividends, interest, and rent. Taking first the dividends and interest estimated to be paid by the corporations reporting to the income tax authorities; adding to this estimates for unincorporated firms; rents paid by tenants; interest paid on mortgaged homes; rent paid by farmers to landlords; interest paid on mortgaged farms; interest paid on the public debt, he arrives at a total paid annually to owners of property exceeding six billion dollars. While the author himself does not claim accuracy for these figures, they give some idea of the magnitude of the income received by owners of property in the United States, and, as stated by him, are probably considerably underestimated.

On the other side of the ledger Dr. Nearing puts wages and salaries paid in manufacturing establishments in 1909 as reported by the Census at four and one-third billion dollars; wages and salaries paid by the railroads in 1912—one and one-quarter billion dollars; and wages and salaries paid by

mines and quarries in 1909—640* million dollars, making a total service income of six and a half billions. (P. 129.)

This would show a division of the national income between those who have and those who work on a basis that is popularly described as fifty-fifty, i. e., each class getting practically an equal share.

It must be pointed out, however, that while in the estimate of property income Dr. Nearing has aimed to take into account every form of income-producing property, in the case of service-income he has refrained from estimating the earnings of: 1) agricultural laborers, 2) those employed in public service, 3) in transportation, 4) in trade, 5) in professional service, 6) in domestic and personal service, and 7) in clerical service.

We shall attempt to fill the gap by estimating the omitted items in the same rough way in which Dr. Nearing has estimated all known forms of income service:

1) The earnings of 6,176,000 agricultural laborers may be conservatively estimated at an average of $300 per year, including the value of board. While wages are actually higher, the lower figure assumed here will offset the loss in wages through idleness in winter months on the part of a considerable number of laborers. This would give a total annual wage bill of close to two billion dollars.

It is true that Dr. Nearing has not included the earnings of farmers in his property-income estimate, as an offset to the wages of farm laborers suggested here. But as we have no data as to the part of the income the farmer receives by virtue of his ownership of the farm and the part he earns through the work of himself and the members of his family, we may assume each part to offset the other. But Dr. Nearing has included in his estimates of property-income that derived by the landlord (receiver of rent from farm tenants) and by the agricultural capitalist (receiver of interest on farm mortgages) and as against these we must take into account the service-income earned by agricultural labor.

2) The U. S. Census accounts for only 459,000 persons in public service: national, state, and municipal. This is obviously much understated. But accepting the figures at their face value, it is very safe to assume that the people employed in this group earn half a billion dollars a year.

3) Dr. Nearing has accounted for one and one-quarter billion dollars earned by those employed in the railroad service, but in addition to those there are street car employes, teamsters and expressmen, stable hands, longshoremen, telegraph and telephone operators, sailors, etc., that make up the transportation group. The street car employes earned in wages and salaries in 1912 more than 200 million dollars. The eighty thousand mail carriers may be estimated to have earned not less than $80,000,000. Assuming that the remaining 1,200,000 employes engaged in transportation earned $500 each, this would amount to a total of $600,000,000. The entire transportation group exclusive of the railroad employes, must have earned close to one billion dollars.

4) The census of 1910 accounts for 3,615,000 people engaged in trade. Deducting from this all bankers, brokers, money lenders, real estate agents, retail and wholesale dealers, etc., we have 2,137,000 employes. Assuming that these people average $500 per annum, this would give a total well over a billion dollars.

5) The earnings of 1,664,000 persons in professional service who are made up partly of employers, but most of them, like physicians, dentists, nurses, lawyers, actors, artists, musicians, teachers, preachers, etc., earn their income through personal service. Their earnings range from a few hundred dollars to several thousand dollars a year, and an average of $1,000 per year would probably be a fair estimate, yielding a total income for the group of one and two-thirds billion dollars.

6) The Census accounts for over 3,772,000 persons engaged in domestic and personal service. Eliminating 165,000 boarding house keepers, 65,000 hotel keepers, 61,000 restaurant keepers, and 68,000 saloon keepers, we have 3,413,000 employes in that service. The poorest paid among these are probably charwomen who may be assumed to earn not less than a dollar a day, domestic servants whose earnings, including the value of their board and lodging, may conservatively be estimated at $250 per year, while barbers, bartenders, janitors, and waiters average probably over $500 per year. Taking a very moderate

* We retain the figures as given by Dr. Nearing, although the total was in excess of 656 million dollars.

average of $300 per year for the entire group would net more than one billion dollars.

7) There were over 1,737,000 persons in clerical occupations according to the 1910 census, consisting of agents, bookkeepers, cashiers, clerks (in office), stenographers, and 100,000 messenger and office boys and girls. A considerable number among these people earn over a thousand dollars a year, while a great many average less than $300. The average for the entire group is probably near $500, making a total of 868 million dollars.

Summing up the additional items of service-income suggested above we get:

1) Agricultural laborers and employes....	$2,000,000,000
2) Public service.....	500,000,000
3) Transportation	1,000,000,000
4) Trade	1,000,000,000
5) Professional service.	1,666,000,000
6) Domestic and personal service.....	1,000,000,000
7) Clerical occupations.	868,000,000
Total.....	$8,034,000,000

Adding this total of over $8,000,000,000 to the six and a half billions accounted for by Dr. Nearing would come close to 15 billion dollars as against the six billion of property income. It is true that in this estimate have been included a great many people who, while earning a living by their personal effort, do not belong to the working class. This has been done, however, in keeping with Dr. Nearing's idea of putting all "service-income" together. But even if the aggregate earnings of the professional group amounting to one and two-thirds of a billion dollars were eliminated, we would still have more than 6 billions to add to Dr. Nearing's six and one-half billion for the service-income total.*

* The items of service-income presented here to supplement that of Dr. Nearing's are the result of a rough estimate. It could be made on a much more elaborate scale than the space and scope of a review will permit. It is adequate, however, for the present purposes.

After all that has been said here in analyzing Dr. Nearing's computations, he is entitled to the credit of having directed the attention of the country along a most important channel. As he states himself,

"It is neither practicable nor is it necessary to fix the amount of property income paid at six, five, or seven billions annually. The significant, vital fact is that property income payments are being made and that these payments must be reckoned, not in hundreds of millions, but in billions" (p. 152).

The additions here suggested, although more than doubling Dr. Nearing's estimate of the total of the service-income in the United States, do not affect his conclusions that

"There is income enough to go around. If all those who participate in the production of wealth received an equal share of the wealth produced, the whole of American society would be able to live on a standard of splendid comfort" (p. 198).

The "if" in the sentence quoted should not be lost sight of. Denying he is a Socialist, Dr. Nearing makes an assumption of the kind that only anti-Socialists like to emphasize as a weak spot in the Socialist program.

There is one inexorable law dominating modern production and that is: constant growth, expansion and additions of new improved machinery. Stated in economic terms it means constant additions of new capital. The distinguishing feature of capitalism—the keynote of modern progress—is the enormous accumulation of wealth which constitutes the very condition of existence of the economic structure under capitalism. Under that system the capitalist becomes, in a sense, a trustee of society. While receiving a large income, the capitalist, unless he be an abnormal spendthrift, consumes but a comparatively small part of his income, reinvesting the bulk of his income in productive enterprises. To be sure, he does it in obedience to a selfish impulse, to make more money, but he performs a social function which can-

not be performed in any other way under a system of private property.

Under a Socialist system, where society owned all the means of production, the same function would have to be performed by society, by withholding a considerable part of the wealth produced for the same purposes; namely, building new factories, adding new machinery, expanding production to meet the increasing demands of a growing population. We have no accurate figures of reinvestments to-day. Enough data, however, are available to make it certain that new investments of capital run into billions of dollars annually, making up a very large portion of the six or more billion dollars of property-income, accounted for by Dr. Nearing.

The "if," therefore, does not fairly state the situation, leaving the impression that it is possible to about double the average income of the workers by distributing the "property-income" among them. By this I do not wish to imply that the present system of distribution is just, or that the lot of the workman would not be vastly improved under Socialism.

Without going into a discussion of Socialism, it may be well to throw out here the suggestion for further discussion that the improvement of the workers' lot under that system would be made possible not so much through the abolition of profit and interest which is largely reappropriated to-day by society in a disguised form, as in the elimination of waste inevitable under the competitive system: entire industries and occupations, such as advertising, traveling salesmen, wholesale and retail dealers, solicitors, peddlers, and a lot of other middle-men, would be eliminated. A great deal of duplication of effort, such as a dozen milk wagons on the same city block, superfluous stores in the same neighborhood, and other instances of wasted and misdirected effort would be done away with, resulting in the saving of billions of dollars and thereby raising the standard of life of the great masses of people.

N. I. Stone.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE, AND CHANTS FOR SOCIALISTS. By William Morris. N. Y.: Longmans, Green.

The Pilgrims of Hope, a series of poems in differing metres, is the life tale of a young couple, idealists, who have united to work for the advancement of mankind. The opening verses are full of light and the joy of living with the breath of the uplands in open country. Later, when the struggle between idealism and existence becomes tense, the hero sacrifices everything to the great cause. His home is broken up, his fortune gone, and the poem finishes in melancholy strain with the idealism, though not the hope, preserved.

The most striking bit of delineation is the portrait of Mazzini, giving the impression he produced on the sensitive mind of the young idealist.

The chants printed in the latter part of the volume have a good swing calculated to arouse enthusiasm, the two May Day songs being especially lovely. The others, if set to music, might be useful in Socialist gatherings.

I. L. W.

THE NEARING CASE. By Lightner Witmer, Ph.D. N. Y.: Huebsch. 50c.

This book contains a thorough resumé of the causes leading up to the discharge of Prof. Scott Nearing from the University of Pennsylvania. It presents a powerful indictment against the U. of P. authorities for their action, and portrays in a vivid fashion the economic forces which are endeavoring to control certain of our educational institutions. Dr. Witmer, Professor of Psychology at the University, is of the

opinion that there is before the U. of P. and other universities "a period of intense struggle for the freedom of research and teaching, and over the right of academic men to serve the public in various capacities."

BOOKS RECEIVED

Socialism. By E. C. Robbins. White Plains, N. Y.: H. W. Wilson Co. $1.00.

Socialism in America. By John Macy. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.00.

Socialism and War. By Louis B. Boudin. N. Y.: New Review Pub. Co. $1.10.

Anthracite. By Scott Nearing. Phila.: John C. Winston. $1.00.

Capital To-day. By Herman Cahn. N. Y.: Putnams. $1.50.

Scientific Management and Labor. By Robert F. Hoxie. N. Y.: Appleton. $1.50.

Free Speech for Radicals. By Theodore Schroeder. Cos Cob: Schroeder. $1.50.

The Stakes of Diplomacy. By Walter Lippmann. N. Y.: Holt. $1.00.

Fundamental Sources of Efficiency. By Fletcher Durell, Ph.D. Phila.: Lippincott. $2.50.

Work and Pay. By Scott Nearing. Published by Chas. W. Erwin, 1326 Arch St., Phila., Pa. 10c.

Fakes in American Journalism. By Max Sherover. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Free Press League, 1569 Pitkin Ave. 25c.

The Currency Problem. By Dr. Karl F. M. Sandberg. Pub. by the author, 2850 Logan Boulevard, Chicago. 5c.

A Compromise With Socialism. By Walter H. McClenon. Los Angeles, Calif.: The Author. 25c.

The Great War. By James P. Warbasse. Brooklyn, N. Y.

[A number of these books are scheduled for review in the magazine.]

WAR — SOCIALISM?

Sir:

"Even martial law may be regarded as a form of collectivism," remarked Edward Bernstein at the beginning of the war. He was ridiculing those members of the nationalistic wing of the German Socialists who had been claiming various policies of the military authorities—all of them examples of the military traditions of past generations—as being installations of "collectivism." And the end is not yet. In the Intercollegiate Socialist for December-January, there is an article by Dr. Traugott Boehme, entitled, "The New Collectivism in Germany." This article expresses the position of the nationalistic wing of the German Party — represented by David, Scheidemann, Suedekum and Legien. In my judgment, a large majority of America's Socialists and of the educated students of Socialism generally, would accept rather the views of the international wing of the German Party, represented by Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Karl Kautsky, Edward Bernstein, and "Vorwaerts."

To be sure, Liebknecht and the "Vorwaerts" have been repudiated by the Parliamentary wing of the German Social-Democratic Party, but I believe they represent the views of the majority, even at the present time, far better than do the members of the Parliamentary group. (It must be remembered that the Parliamentary group enjoy certain official immunities from prosecution which enable them to give freer expression to their views than the rank and file of the Party could safely give to theirs.)

Liebknecht and Zetkin and many who share their views, deny—in every number of "Vorwaerts"—each and every proposition of Dr. Boehme and assert that the truth is the direct opposite. They claim that the whole policy of the despotic military regime has been directed against the people and in favor of the upper classes, increasing the privileges and the preposterous political power they already held in Germany before the war. In my "Socialists and the War," I quoted Kautsky, Bernstein and "Vorwaerts" on this "new despotism" up to May 1st of last year. In the last eight months the government has become more despotic, more anti-labor than ever—until even the nationalistic wing of the Socialists bitterly assailed it (in December) — attacking not only the government's discrimination against the rights of the labor unions, but also its whole internal economic policy in refusing to offer effective measures to feed the masses — the middle classes still having ample means to keep them from starvation.

Dr. Boehme says that "55 per cent. of the population receives its means of living directly or indirectly from the state." True! But what means? According to "Vorwaerts," not enough to keep women and children from physical deterioration.

Certainly this is collectivism. But it is neither "new" nor democratic. It is the collectivism of the serfdom of ancient Peru.

It was a whole terrible year before the Government adopted even a part of the Socialist demands. Dr. Boehme quotes Legien's statement as though the whole of this program had been adopted. On the contrary, the official Party statement (signed both by majority and minority) issued in December shows that a score of vital points have not been acted upon. The result is that the new legislation has not kept up with the rising cost of living and the conditions of the masses are deteriorating week by week. Even in war time—when the masses are so needy—this "collectivist" government does not effectively protect their families against the absorption of an undue share of the food supply by the middle and upper classes.

But the most amazing statement is that about the co-operation of the military authorities with the unions. There has been such co-operation. But "Vorwaerts" has filled whole columns in the last 500 numbers with cases of labor union persecution even worse than anything that existed before the war.

Wm. English Walling.

REPLY BY DR. BOEHME

Sir:

On August 13, 1914, Eduard Bernstein wrote of that great "patriot and internationalist" Jean Jaurès, "who fell as the first victim of this world-fire": "He was so international that he was national everywhere; he had a heart for every nation, and hatred for none." (Sozial. Monatshefte, 1914, p. 1,023). Some "educated" Socialists may not accept Jaurès as a true internationalist, because he had a strong sympathy for Germany and worked, up to the very last hour of his life, for a Franco-German rapprochement. But the German Socialists, even to-day, praise Jean Jaurès as "our murdered friend and leader." (Soz. Monatsh. of Dec. 14, 1915, p. 1,276.) There is neither an internationalist nor a nationalistic wing in the German Socialist Party. Both wings of the German Socialist Party believe in that fine conception of internationalism expressed by Jean Jaurès in his famous formula: "A little internationalism leads away from the fatherland; much internationalism leads back to the fatherland: a little patriotism leads away from internationalism; much patriotism leads back to internationalism." (La Nouvelle Armée, German transl., 1913, p. 407.)

The split in the German Socialist Party was accentuated, not created by the war; it is primarily a split between "radicals" and "reformists"; it has been the outstanding feature of the Socialist Party's life for the last fifteen years. The "radicals" or "revolutionists" still believe in the "great social catastrophe," which will bring about the Socialistic commonwealth of the future; they are prone to denounce "social progress," such as labor legislation, as disguised despotism. The "reformists" or "evolutionists" on the other hand have found the way from dogma to reality; they believe in the peaceful realization of the Socialist program by gradual penetration of all public institutions with a Socialistic spirit. The radical minority represented by the *Vorwaerts* stand for the revolutionary phrase; the reformist majority represented by the *Hamburger Echo* and the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* stand for assiduous practical work along the lines of collectivism.

In spite of the all-or-nothing attitude of the *Vorwaerts* radicals, the great majority of the Party, including most of those whom Mr. Walling would classify as "educated students of Socialism," welcome certain recent internal developments as little steps forward. Among these are:

Recognition of the non-political character of the labor unions;

Extensive co-operation of labor unions and official authorities on employment and wage questions;

Restriction of capitalistic speculation in common necessities such as coal;

Appointment of Socialist members to the Federal Price Examining Board;

Admission of Socialists to teaching positions in State Universities (as, for instance, Dr. Hugo Lindemann, the authority on municipal administration);

And, above all, the acceptance of some vital collectivist ideas in dealing with the food problem: (1) State monopoly of trading in breadstuffs, the profits going to public relief funds; (2) the "bread-card system" (gradually extended to butter, milk, fat, potatoes), based on the principle that the millionaire with all his money cannot buy or consume more breadstuffs per day than the equivalent of 200 grams of flour, this being the amount which the nation can afford for everybody.

If such was "the collectivism of the serfdom of ancient Peru," I have to revise my opinions both on serfdom and on ancient Peru.

The success of these new collectivistic measures, however incomplete and tentative they may be, has been twofold: they saved the German masses from starvation (though not from all the hardships of war, to be sure); and they conveyed a tremendously powerful object-les-

son about the blessings of communistic co-operation. The cry for more "new collectivism" is constantly growing. Of course, much more remains to be done, in this line, and, as Mr. Walling correctly remarks, scores of Socialist demands "have not been acted upon"—which is only another way of saying that the Kaiser has not, so far, handed over his secptre to Dr. Carl Liebknecht.

T. Boehme.

I. S. S. NOTES

This Spring the I. S. S. is planning a more active season than ever before, as may be seen from the character of the trips which are being scheduled for I. S. S. speakers. All readers residing in states through which the I. S. S. lecturers travel, who may be in a position to assist the Society in arranging college or city meetings, are urged to correspond with us.

Rose Pastor Stokes who has several times toured the colleges with such marked success, will begin a lecture trip under our auspices the second week in March, touching several points in Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and New York.

From March 10th to March 25th John Spargo will make another trip of two weeks' duration among the New England Colleges, under I. S. S. auspices.

During January Mr. Spargo spoke at Yale, Princeton, Trinity, Hartford Theological Seminary, Berkeley Divinity School and Adelphi College under the auspices of the I. S. S. and at Brown and Pembroke under the auspices of the Union and the Forum, respectively. At Princeton he debated on the subject of "Preparedness" with Prof. Frank J. Mather in Alexander Hall before an enthusiastic audience of nearly 1,000, students, members of the faculty and townspeople. Judging from the ovation received by the visiting speaker, the overwhelming number in the audience were won over to the belief that there was no occasion for further increase in our army and navy. Mr. Spargo also met an intensely interested audience of 450 at Yale. Beginnings of I. S. S. Chapters were made at Trinity and Hartford Theological Seminary during his trip.

Harry W. Laidler is planning to tour the colleges of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee during March, and of Pennsylvania during April.

W. Harris Crook, M. A. of Oxford, England, and of Harvard University, who has devoted a great deal of thought to constructive peace, will make a trip among the colleges of New England during the Spring of this year. Mr. Crook is considered by many to be one of the most inspiring of the younger speakers in this country.

William English Walling spoke at the University of Pennsylvania on January 19th under the auspices of the U. of P. Chapter.

Irwin Tucker addressed groups in Union and General Theological Seminaries of New York on his January visit.

On account of the space devoted in this number to the convention report, the college notes dealing with particular institutions have been largely omitted.

The Portland (Oregon) Alumni Chapter, I. S. S., is conducting an exceedingly interesting and successful series of lectures on Modern Social Problems as follows:

Jan. 13—"Industrial Unionism," James P. Thompson; Jan. 26—"State Socialism," Jack Britt Gearity; Feb. 10—"Anarchism," Col. C. E. S. Wood; Feb. 23—"Single Tax," Wm. S. U'Ren; Mar. 7—"Trade Unionism," Eugene Smith; Mar. 22—"Feminism," Dr. C. H. Chapman.

The Buffalo Alumni Chapter has arranged beginners' advanced courses of lectures on Socialism by John Spargo during February. The subjects for the beginners' course are: The Social State, Private Property Under Socialism, Labor and Its Remuneration Under Socialism, Personal and Intellectual Freedom Under Socialism, The Question of Incentive, The Family and Sex Relations Under Socialism, Question Box.

A WORD FROM THE TREASURER

To All Whom It May Concern:

Elsewhere in this issue of the Intercollegiate Socialist, the Organizing Secretary reports the success of the work in the field, by the organizers who have been in the colleges since October.

This is the kind of thing we can do and do well, if we have the money Several capable organizers are ready to go into the colleges, under the auspices of the Society, if their expenses can be paid.

If you believe in this work—which is in direct line with our object—will you not send us a check, to be used between now and June. Sincerely,

Mary R. Sanford,
Treasurer.